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THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Review.

Recollections of a Lifetime; or Men and Things I Have Seen. In a Series of Familiar Letters to a Friend. Historical, Biographical, Anecdotical, and Descriptive. By S. G. Goodrich. 2 vols. New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan. 1856.

There are few of the readers of the *Era*, and certainly none of them who are, have been, or had much to do with, children for the last twenty years, who are not familiar with the name of Peter Parley, and with the volumes that have borne this title. Many, however, may not know who Peter is, was, or has been. Now, the veritable old man, once pictured with a crutch, who by his portrait (side view) is seen to be a very handsome-looking individual, beyond the shady side of fifty, Samuel G. Goodrich by name, has come forth, in his person, to tell the world about himself, his ancestors, kindred, friends, and acquaintances; what he has seen, and what he has not seen, but has heard. Of course, it is an interesting book—anybody may know that; for he is a keen observer of men and things, and has a very good faculty of presenting them to others. Some of the stories do not lose anything in the telling, and a few, we are inclined to think, have somehow got fastened to a wrong parentage. Our readers will no doubt recognise portraits of persons with whom they have been familiar—more so than the author—and instances will occur to them, as well as to ourselves, in which the judgment will be, that had he known his subjects better, he would have given a more faithful delineation. The work might have been compressed, as, in not a few cases, the notes supply no information beyond what is amply possessed, or which lies, in various forms and connections, in volumes of easy access. The gathering of facts of interest—many of them new, in reference to characters before but little known, but who deserve to be better appreciated, is often suitably performed; and we are glad to see such an addition to different phases of our country's history. The anecdotes which are intermingled help to develop character; the snatches of poetry, and longer pieces, render the work yet more attractive; and, with all the prolixity of certain portions, it is a book that will be read with much pleasure by the numerous friends and acquaintances of the author. There will no doubt be some variance of opinion as to the points of political reference—such, for instance, as the Hartford Convention, and the character and conduct of the Federal party before and during the war of 1812—but the author has stated his own views in a frank and manly manner, and has thrown light on particulars of the general subject; and, in the main, we believe his estimate of the state of affairs in these periods, and of the men who were then prominent actors, will be that on which impartial history will settle down as the most accurate in point of fact. The struggles of his literary life, the piracies he has suffered, and the necessity of proving himself to be himself, or rather Peter Parley, is only another chapter of the annals of successful authorship. There are always men enough who try to wear a borrowed plumage, and we are always glad to see them stripped of their ill-gotten guise, as in this case seems to have been most effectually done.

The illustrations of the volumes are in good style, and rightly are they put in, for a book by this author without pictures would almost set us to questioning its authenticity. The sketches of scenery, too, in prose and poetry, are pleasing, while the traits of character in such men as the poets Brainerd and Percival, and others, and the history of certain of the fruits of their genius, and the light so thrown on parts of the literary history of the past, will be regarded with gratification. Mr. Goodrich's observations are not confined, however, to our own country. Abroad, too, he has had opportunities to observe, and we find a pleasant record of his impressions of celebrities, then in the height of their fame, like Scott, Jeffrey, Lockhart, Chalmers, in Scotland; Brougham, Eldon, Hannah Moore, &c., in England; while in France, he presents us with some notices of the Revolution of 1848, and subsequent events, with the persons who bore part in them.

The volumes are thicker than they would have been, but for the large type and wide-leaded lines; but the author himself, so great a sufferer in his eyes, we presume, was determined that no one reading his reminiscences should have occasion for any complaints on this score. The work we doubt not will be received and read by many thousands who cherish kind recollections of his labors for them and their children, and desire to know more about him.

And now, all ye who have read or heard about Peter Parley, or who have figured out, in your imagination, who and what sort of a man he might be, just step into any of the bookstores, buy the book, and see for yourselves.

Beaumarchais and his Times. Sketches of French Society in the Eighteenth Century; from unpublished Documents. By Louis de Lomenie. Translated by Henry S. Edwards. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

No nation is so prolific of "Memoirs," relating to the events of their past history, as the French. We could number up from memory only, without referring to any catalogue of such collections, some scores of volumes. Written, as many of them were, at the period in which the events transpired, and gathered, as still a larger number have been, from letters and memoranda of celebrated characters, they throw much light on the reigns of their monarchs, and the stirring times of the Republic and the Empire. It could scarcely be otherwise in the midst of such a people, passing through such changes, and where so many remarkable exhibitions of popular or individual character were daily taking place. The period embraced in the volume before us was one of no slight interest. From the close of the reign of Louis XV up to the year 1799, in which he died, he mingled in the passing scenes of that transition state of the old French regime, its struggles and downfall, and the era of confusion and blood that followed, known as a poet, a comic writer, a satirist, a man of intrigue, a courtier, speculator, by his famous law-suits, by his agency in the relations of the Government of Louis XVI with our own country, and the long-repeated claims so urged upon Congress and battled with such perseverance. Beaumarchais, the author of the *Barber of Seville*, and the *Marriage of Figaro*, as well as of the famous "Memorials," moves through these annals of folly and fashion as a sort of master spirit. The fact is a singular one, that, owing to his speculations and the accounts referred to in some of his various letters and papers, they have only been preserved, while many more, which would have been interesting to the general reader, as connected with the man of letters and fashion, perished; so that, but for the former, events in his life, and their bearing on his character in his social relations, would not have here found their elucidation. His executor and clerk, while he tore up and destroyed hundreds of such relics of correspondence relating to Beaumarchais' opinions and actions with the men and women of the day, carefully labelled and put away everything that had a line or so in it which referred to his claims or his business transactions, and, drawn forth from the repose of fifty years or more, his biographer has now found in them much new material, out of which to construct, in a fuller manner than ever before, his personal history. The book will add thus to the information relative to that portion of the annals of France. We find in it mention of many persons who then figured largely, but who are scarcely now ever spoken of. Thus the Chevalier d'Eon, who played so mysterious a part, and who was brought into connection with Beaumarchais, who, shrewd as he was, is said to have been outwitted by him, finds a place in these records. The part Beaumarchais bore, as related, in the French alliance with our struggling country, is dwelt upon at considerable length. The author of this volume, justifying, as he believes, his claim, which was so often denied, on the ground that he was merely the agent of the King, and his advances of funds and for supplies were not of the nature of a private transaction.

The work is well put together; a fair record of its author's views respecting his subject, but has not the liveliness we find in some memoirs, which we presume is owing to the fact that the most sprightly and interesting memoranda from Beaumarchais' own pen, suffered the fate to which we have already alluded. Still it will be gladly received, as one of the many which help us to throw ourselves into the scenes and events of the past, and mingle with the celebrities of the day to which it alludes.

Violet: or, the Cross and the Crown. By M. J. McIntosh, author of "Two Lives; or, to Seem and to Be," "Charms and Counter Charms," &c., &c. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1856.

Those who have made themselves acquainted with Miss McIntosh's former works will be glad to meet her again upon the field which she entered on with so much success. The present volume, however, differs very considerably from those productions of her pen; and while to some, perhaps, it may have more attraction, from the scenes and the incidents of the story, it will not find equal approbation from others. In general, the high moral runs through it, and the end develops the importance and necessity of trust in God. Perhaps there is not quite so much of the directly religious bearing in these pages.

The story is of a child, found a babe on a wreck, with its mother dead, and adopted by a brutal wrecker and his wife, who is not so devoid of humane feelings, and yet willing enough to conceal the fraud, and hide the few relics of clothing and ornaments, by which the lost one could be restored to its friends. The little girl grows up, wins the love of a kind physician and a widowed man, who has an only son, to whom he would gladly see her united. Various reasons, however, prevent it. The wrecker becomes bitterly malignant, and seeks to place his adopted daughter in the hands of a worthless fellow, whom she spurns. She escapes, but is entrapped by her supposed father, and, borne on the ocean, is, like her mother and herself before, again found on a wreck near her rude home and her mother's grave, and is rescued, to be restored at last to her true father, and to be blessed anew with the love of the heart that so yearned over her, and of that brother from whose alliance she has been withheld. The wrecker died in his attempt to reach the shore, after he had confessed his crime, and told her who she was, and thus prepared the way for the development to which we have just alluded.

Some of the characters are well drawn, and the contrasts presented are very strong. There is, however, a mingling of a good deal that is revolting to the feelings, as must necessarily be the case with the acts of so desperate a villain, thus interwoven with the story. The real lover, an Englishman, who as a child had known and loved the mother, and hence is sympathetically drawn to the daughter, is rewarded with her hand, as he before possessed Violet's heart; and the winding up is to show that villany shall be defeated, and virtue triumphant. There are side plots skillfully connected with the main one, and a general consistency is on the whole kept up, though there might be some objection to the means of carrying along the various issues, and bringing them to blend at last in the ultimate object.

There is not enough of concealment in the plan. The reader sees at the outset who Violet is, and, as one and another character is introduced, what relations they bear. This might have been better managed, and the veil have been left undrawn till at the last, and thus the interest deepened, while there would have been no injury to the various parts of the tale.

"Bad Off."—A chap applied at a police station in Boston for lodgings, on Saturday night, elucidating the question of parentage in this way: "You see, Cap'n, first my father died, and my mother married again, and then my mother died, and my father married again, an' somewhat or other I don't seem to have no parents at all, nor no home, nor no nothing."

Certainly a Good Reason for Discontinuing the Paper.—The Warsaw (Mo.) *Democrat* has the following:

"We strike the name of two of our subscribers from our books this week, who have recently been hung in Texas. We do this because we are not advised, as yet, of their present locality."

A New Version.—At a distribution of prizes in a German village, a little girl, seven years old, whose parents had just been turned out of their lodgings because they had failed to pay their rent, was asked by the rector, "Have you studied sacred history, my child?" "Yes, sir." "Do you know the history of creation?" "I know that God made all." "Why were Adam and Eve turned out of Paradise?" The child hesitated a moment, and then, fixing her eyes on the examiner, replied, "*Probably they were turned out because they could not pay their rent!*"

Retort Courteous.—At the annual dinner of of the Beta Kappa Society, in Cambridge, some years ago, the late eminent Justice Story complimented Edward Everett, who was present, with the following sentiment: "Fame follows merit wherever it [Everett] goes." Without a moment's pause, or waiting for the cheers to subside, Mr. Everett sprang to his feet, and proposed as a toast: "The Members of the Bar—let them rise high as they may, they can never reach above *one Story*."—*Evening Post.*

For the National Era.

DEGENERACY OF STATURE.

BY THRACE TALMON.

With due deference to Young America, it must be confessed that our people are deteriorating in stature. The traditionary fact that "there were giants in those days," becomes more and more marvellous. Gods, conquerors, monarchs, conscript fathers, in the ancient time, are represented to have been of physical proportions, which, as compared with our race, we pronounce not only colossal, but chimerical. The human skeleton discovered by Pliny, which was forty-six cubits in length, and that by Strabo, of sixty cubits, we hold to be absolute myths.

We remember our grandfathers as men of commanding height, of full figure, and stern port. Our fathers slightly trimmed down the pattern. The young men of to-day have dwindled not a little. A few days since, we saw the students of ——— College, in a collective body, and, with but few exceptions, they looked dwarfed in stature. Not a quarter of a century since, such a body of young men would have averaged a number of feet in height, exceeding that of the present exceptions. It would seem, that since the day when man was made

——"erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native honor clad,"

he has been degenerating in that majesty of physical manliness, which has been the admiration of sculptors, painters, bards, and common eyes, in all the ages. We shrink from picturing the *physique* of the generations to come. Will they be dwarfs actual, pigmies, or fays? Doubtless, they will compare with models of the past, like the Israelitish spies before the sons of Anak—as grasshoppers! Not Titans, but sons and daughters of Titania, they will war with weapons of mushrooms, instead of mountains!

It behooves us to inquire into some of the causes of this degeneracy. We have paid dearly for many of the modern improvements called civilization. Household luxuries, school-room steam-press systems, and, above all, the mad spirit of the times, have not come to us without a loss more than proportionate. Little children, whose brains are still plastic from the mould of nature, are forced to go through a drill, which, considered in its absolute light with the relative effects upon the constitution, is appalling to the most dispassionate thinker. A boy, at ten or twelve years, is required to accomplish more processes in the text-books of the sciences, than were ripe scholars of the past. A collegian must master matters which were once grasped only by hard-working professors. Professors are expected to make discoveries—unearth the wonders of creation, or create wondrous theories, shortly to be earthed without an obituary.

In the world of mechanics, a young man, upon starting in life for himself, directly arrives at the conclusion that, in order to be something—which too often is only equivalent to be possessor of a fortune—he must act upon the maxim, "Go ahead, if you burst your boiler." Accordingly, he rushes headlong, with an impetuosity which strikes fire from the sharp flints under his tread. His brain works like an epitome of all the illustrations in Byrne's dictionary of mechanics, really resting never. The result may be foreseen. Occasionally, one of this class reaches the end of his first aim—he amasses an estate, but at the expense of his peace, and often of his health. The lunatic asylum or the premature grave too frequently winds up his career. It is to be concluded that this system often generates moral as well as physical decay. They who will be rich are not always scrupulous. The wise man asserts, even, that "He that maketh haste to be rich, shall not be innocent."

The evil effects of this system in affairs, we, the whole people, test every day of our lives, from the grand railway or steamboat accident, which kills off some scores, to the cheat in our articles of table consumption and common fabrics of clothing.

Authors are not less upon the rush. Books are now written to order, and by the week. The majority of them are Jonah's guards. The reaction upon the material life of these book-makers is proportional to their unnatural intellectual efforts.

If any class of men may be likened to Ixion, it is that of modern politicians. Their motion surpasses all others in torment, for it is perpetual. Once tied to the wheel, and they must abide the shock of being turned upside down with every revolution.

It is not surprising, but clearly deducible, that the offspring of such a people should be found wanting in the elements which make real men and women.

The people of a newly-settled country, where arts, luxuries, and consequently competition, are introduced sparsely and leisurely, are of large and handsome physical symmetry. They expand physically and intellectually, in the strengthening atmosphere of a free life. "Our ancestors," says Seneca, "when they were free, lived either in caves or arbors; but Slavery came in with gildings and with marble." They take time to think, to grow, and to live. They work slowly, but more often surely. Magnificent results follow—rare, indeed, but only the more grandly conspicuous. They turn out but few master minds in a century, but these are genuine. They are as mountains to hillocks. Every eye can see them. Their heads are nearer the clouds than all others. Their foundations are indestructible, immortal; and when they sleep, it is the sleep of giants, upon bedsteads of iron.

Had any one of the great statesmen, whose bodily presence is no more with us, been reared in one of our modern cities, according to the most model mode, he would no more have attained to the stature of a full man, in any sense, than the plant of the conservatory can rival the noble tree of the forest, or than a common mill-dam can compete with Niagara. Aristotle, to whom Philip intrusted the education of Alexander, was careful that the physical training of the young prince should be properly regulated in his early years. Gymnastics and the habit of endurance of cold were prominent in the regime. The result corresponded with the aim. Alexander became Alexander the Great, by reason of his ability to lead his bands of warriors onward, over all barriers, to victory.

Sallust, alluding to the degeneracy of the Romans from the state when they were "magnificent in their offerings to the gods, frugal in their families, and faithful to their friends," to that when "avarice rooted out faith, probity, and every worthy principle," declares that "this vice, (avarice,) as if impregnated with deadly poison, enervates both soul and body."

Before me is a picture of Red Jacket, the great Indian chief. His mien is truly awe-inspiring. There is mark in every line, strength in every relief. His bone and thews and nerve must have been wrought of the iron of life. Who can behold this son of the forest, this red Apollo Belvidere, and not admire? Imagination pictures that this being was made to hug ferocious bears to destruction, to wrench out the eye-teeth of rattlesnakes with the agility of a Hercules, and to take long moonlight excursions

"———o'er Siogee's ice,
With brindled wolves, all harnessed three and three,
High seated on a sledge."

Let not my refined reader turn from this sketch with horror. A true Indian athlete, *en rapporte* with the mysteries of the mountains, the ledges, the forests, and the Great Spirit, is no contemptible study for the most fastidious. "Manuel," remarked Nicetas, "had not yellow locks, like a cornfield; his hue was dark and sunburnt, yet it was the hue of the bride in the *Canticles*—black, but comely." So my Indian chief is noble, though dark; his person is like night, with stars of eyes. The physical training, and that of his race, which accomplishes this "comeliness," is too familiar to repeat.

We have no anticipation of any radical change for the better, in the rearing of our youth, or in the habits of our citizens. We expect each succeeding generation will grow "beautifully less." Mountains will become mole-hills; mole-hills, atoms; till the souls of mankind are completely disembodied.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DRESS AND ADDRESS.

From Goodrich's Recollections.

Jefferson was, or affected to be, very simple in his taste, dress, and manners. He wore pantaloons instead of breeches, and adopted leather shoe-strings in place of buckles. These and other similar things were praised by his admirers as signs of his democracy—a certain coarseness of manners, supposed to be encouraged by the leaders, passed to the led. Rudeness and irreverence were at length deemed democratic, if not democracy. An anecdote, which is strictly historical, will illustrate this.

About this time there was, in the eastern part of Connecticut, a clergyman by the name of Cleveland, who was noted for his wit. One summer day, as he was riding along, he came to a brook. Here he paused to let his horse drink. Just then, a stranger rode into the stream from an opposite direction, and his horse began to drink also. The animals approached, as is their wont under such circumstances, and thus brought the two men face to face.

"How are you, priest?" said the stranger.

"How are you, democrat?" said the parson.

"How do you know I am a democrat?" said one.

"How do you know I am a priest?" said the other.

"I know you to be a priest by your dress," said the stranger.

"I know you to be a democrat by your address," said the parson.

THE BIG AND LITTLE QUEUES.

From the same.

A very keen observer, then and long afterwards a Senator of the United States, once told me that at this period, all the barbers in Washington were federalists, and he imputed it to the fact that the leaders of that party in Congress wore powder and long queues, and of course had them dressed every day by the barber. The democrats, on the contrary, wore short hair, or, at least, small queues, tied up carelessly with a ribbon, and therefore gave little encouragement to the tonsorial art.

One day, as the narrator told me, while he was being shaved by the leading barber of the city—who was, of course, a federalist—the latter suddenly and vehemently burst out against the nomination of Madison for the Presidency by the democratic party, which had that morning been announced.

"Dear me!" said the barber, "surely this country is doomed to disgrace and shame. What Presidents we might have, sir! Just look at Daggett of Connecticut, and Stockton of New Jersey! What queues they have got, sir—as big as your wrist, and powdered every day, sir, like real gentlemen, as they are. Such men, sir, would confer dignity upon the Chief Magistracy; but this little Jim Madison, with a queue no bigger than a pipe-stem! Sir, it is enough to make a man forswear his country!"

THE FORGED WILL.

A thrilling scene in Court, related by Samuel Warren, F. R. S., author of "The Diary of a Late Physician," "Ten Thousand a Year," &c., to a gentleman of this city, as having occurred in his own practice.

A few years since, a man of high respectability was tried in England on a charge of forging a will, in which it was discovered he had an indirect interest to a large amount. Mr. Warren was the associate prosecuting attorney, and the case was tried before Lord Denman.

The prisoner being arraigned, and the formalities gone through with, the prosecutor, placing his thumb over the seal, held up the will, and demanded of the prisoner if he had seen the testator sign that instrument, to which he promptly answered, he had.

"And did you sign it at his request as subscribing witness?"

"I did."

"Was it sealed with *red* or *black* wax?"

"With red wax."

"Did you see him seal it with red wax?"

"I did."

"Where was the testator when he signed and sealed this will?"

"In his bed."

"Pray, how long a piece of wax did he use?"

"About three or four inches long."

"Who gave the testator this piece of wax?"

"I did."

"Where did you get it?"

"From the drawer of his desk."

"How did he light that piece of wax?"

"With a candle."

"Where did that piece of candle come from?"

"I got it out of a cupboard in his room?"

"How long was that piece of candle?"

"Perhaps four or five inches long."

"Who lit that piece of candle?"

"I lit it."

"With what?"

"With a match."

"Where did you get that match?"

"On the mantel-shelf in the room."

Here Warren paused, and fixing his large deep blue eyes upon the prisoner, he held the will up above his head, his thumb still resting upon the seal and said, in a solemn, measured, tone:

"Now, sir, upon your solemn oath, you saw the testator sign that will—he signed it in his bed—at his request you signed it, as a subscribing witness—you saw him seal it—it was with red wax he sealed it—a piece of wax, too, three or four inches long—he lit that wax with a piece of candle which you procured for him from a cupboard—you lit that candle by a match which you found on the mantel-shelf?"

"I did."

"Once more, sir—upon your solemn oath, *you did!*"

"I did!!"

"My Lord—it's a wafer!!!"—*New York Evening Post.*

PUNCH ON HOOPS AND FLOUNES.

[The picture introducing the following "fragment," represents in a vivid manner the hero in the position implied by the language of the closing paragraph. We are led to infer that his device is successful, and that his pains will be rewarded by a grasp of the fair one's hand.]

Fragment of an Unpublished Novel of Fashionable Life.—"How could he tell? Two long, weary years had passed away; years of suffering, adventure, hardship, and trial, since he had left her and his native land, to do battle against the hirsute legions of the Muscovite, and how did he know but what he would have to shave them off?

"In an agony of conflicting hopes and fears, Algernon Fitzpymlico turned into Langham place. Why does he stop so suddenly, as by a spell? and why does the life-blood rush crimson red up to his manly brow?

"A form of feminine elegance, lovely and fair to look upon, and arrayed in all the gorgeous amplitude of the prevailing mode—a fairy vessel with her sails all set—appears in the distance. Can it be?—yes—no—yes—'tis she, indeed—there can be no doubt about it—but will she recognise him? A cold chill, like damp dinner napkins, struck to his very heart—his brain grew dizzy, and, with all the premonitory symptoms of a violent bilious attack, he clung to the nearest lamp-post for support.

"It was Lettice. Lettice, fresh and crisp, and sparkling as that which had formed the salad of his noon-tide nourishment. With the sunniest of smiles, she glidingly approached, and gracefully extended her exquisitely gloved hand towards him, and in accents as soft as the droppings of ethereal springs, she made inquiry as to how he did. But who shall describe the feelings of Algernon at that critical moment? feelings in comparison with which the tortures of Tantalus were as a cheerful and enlivening pastime; there was the hand, but how to reach it! Gladly would he have given up name and fame, lands, titles, trinkets, all, to have pressed again that little hand; to have touched once more that little finger. As well might he attempt to scale Parnassus as trench upon the limits of that enchanted circle of which she formed the centre, and which hung like a cloud-bank between him and the object of his soul's idolatry.

"It was a terrible moment.

"Suddenly, and with electric brilliancy, the flash of triumph gleams in his downcast eye—he has hit upon an expedient. Raising his stalwart arm—that arm which, erewhile amid the blare of trumpets and the crash of war, had led battalions on to victory, and made the Russian tremble; dexterously encircling the lamp-post before alluded to with the carved handle of his *parapluie;* cleverly balancing its noble form at an angle of forty-five degrees; and in as graceful an attitude as the circumstances would admit of, he"—&c., &c. [*Here the leaf turns over.*]

THE LAST DAYS OF A GREAT MAN.

[From the Life of John Adams, by his Grandson.]

He was now at the age of ninety, infirm in body, but yet preserving a remarkable activity of mind. Unable to see clearly enough to read or to guide a pen to write, he still retained so much interest in present objects as fully to employ the services of members of his immediate family, both in reading to him and in writing after his dictation. What he most disliked was the mere vegetation of extreme age, rather than to fall into which he would cheerfully listen to any book, however trifling, which might at the moment be attracting the fancy of younger generations. The brilliant fictions of Walter Scott, then in the height of their popularity, the sea stories of Cooper, and even the exaggerated but vigorous poetry of Byron, were all welcome in the intervals when he could not obtain what he better relished, the reminiscences of cotemporaries or the speculations of more profound writers in England and France. His avidity for new literature was so well understood, that he seldom failed of a supply from the good-will of kind friends in the neighboring city. In this way, he used to sit day after day, with his arms folded, one hand resting on a cane, exactly as he is represented by the painter, Gilbert Stuart, in the portrait, an engraving of which is to be found facing the title of the tenth volume of the present work. This condition was varied by a single ride taken daily in fine weather around the vicinity, in the scenery of which he ever delighted, and by conversation with friends and visiters who chanced to call and see him. Such was his habit, after exercise in walking had become too fatiguing to his yet heavy frame. Thus ebbed away the remnant of his being, gently and insensibly, as Cicero so happily describes: "*Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque, viventi non intelligitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu ætas senescit. Nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate extinguitur.*"

The relatives of Mr. Adams were not, however, unaware that the spring of 1826 opened upon him with enfeebled powers. This became so observable in the month of April as to warn them of what would ere long take place. He was stretching over his ninety-first year. The year was generally viewed with uncommon interest, as marking the lapse of the first half century of the national history. The 4th of July approached, and on every side sprung up a demand for a more than common celebration of that anniversary. The eyes of all involuntarily turned towards the few who yet lingered of the survivors of 1776, and especially to the two individuals most identified with the action which had made the day famous forever. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson yet lived. They were thought to be still able to come forward and crown with their presence the joyous festivities of the jubilee. With what interest would the younger generations view these time-honored servants of Freedom, once more brought together in presence of the nation, after twenty-five years of separation, to shake hands for the last time with each other, to take note of the happiness and prosperity they had done so much to promote, and to receive the warmest expressions of gratitude from millions of grateful hearts. Stimulated by these ideas, invitations poured in from all quarters to secure the desired meeting at some favorite and convenient place. Even the neighbors of Mr. Adams, though they well understood his strength to be unequal to a distant excursion, yet flattered themselves that he would at least be able to honor their comparatively small gathering with his presence. The sanguine hopes thus excited were all destined to be equally disappointed; for the objects of them were even then not wholly insensible to the nature of the far more imperative summons that was awaiting them. As the time drew nearer, the townsmen of Mr. Adams became more and more aware of the progress of his decline; but, if they could not have him in person, they still desired to obtain from him some last word or sign of cheer to his friends and neighbors upon the interesting occasion. To this end, the individual who had been selected to make the oration was deputed to pay him a visit, and communicate their wishes. He did so; and he has briefly recorded the result in a diary which he left behind him. It was on Friday, the 30th of June, at 9 o'clock in the morning, that, according to his account, he walked down to see Mr. Adams. His record is as follows: "Spent a few minutes with him in conversation, and took from him a toast, to be presented on the 4th of July, as coming from him. I should have liked a longer one; but, as it is, this will be acceptable. 'I will give you,' said he, '*Independence forever!*'" He was asked if he would not add anything to it, and he replied, "Not a word."

The visiter, evidently not one of the laconic school, in objecting to this toast as not long enough, may raise a smile in the present day. Looking back from this distance of time, it would seem as if the addition of another word must have spoiled it. In that brief sentiment, Mr. Adams infused the essence of his whole character, and of his life-long labors for his country.

The visiter had not come too early, for the symptoms of debility became more and more alarming every moment. There was no suffering, except from the labor of respiration; but this increased so steadily that, early on the morning of the 4th, Mr. Adams's medical adviser, Dr. Holbrook, predicted his patient would not last beyond sunset. In the mean time, the celebration went on in Quincy, as everywhere else. No more interesting festival has ever occurred. From one end of the country to the other, the names of Adams and Jefferson were coupled, wherever Americans were gathered together, in accents of gratitude and praise. All remnants of party passions were completely drowned in the strong flood of national feeling which overspread the land. At Quincy, the exercises passed and the banquet began. The orator of the day here again records the following: "I presented the toast I obtained from the President, and it was received with unceasing shouts."

As these shouts were raising to the skies—shouts which might have been caught by his ears, had they been longer sensitive to receive them—the spirit of Mr. Adams was passing away. The sands of a long, a varied, and a memorable life, were run out. A noble and a pure heart, the aspirations of which had ever been for the advancement of his country and the welfare of his race, had ceased to beat. The record already quoted adds, that "the intelligence of the President's death was received as the company were beginning to leave the hall."* It was not a moment auspicious to further manifestations of noisy joy, although such a death could not convey with it any of the common feelings of sadness. It was a fitting close of a brilliant day. The setting sun spread its rays over the dispersing vapors, only to give a more serene majesty to the golden splendors of the sky. Could it be given to a man to choose the hour and moment of his exit most glorious to his name and most in harmony with his life, none within the wide range of mortal experience can be imagined more to be desired than this.

Yet, strange as it may seem, another incident was coming in, to give a second and still more remarkable association with the occasion. It is stated of Mr. Adams, that the last words he ever uttered, as far as they could be gathered from his failing articulation, were these: "Thomas Jefferson still survives." Long as the two had been travelling in parallel lines to the common goal, ever observant of their relative position, such an idea might naturally occur to Mr. Adams, especially at a moment which brought them so freshly together in the minds of all other men. But he was mistaken. The fact was not as he supposed. Thomas Jefferson did not survive. He too had reached the anniversary, and he too had been summoned, but at an earlier hour, to immortality. Marvellous as it may seem—perhaps exceeding, in respect of its strange coincidences, many a wonder transmitted from a mythological age—yet the event was to be indelibly stamped on the memory of America, that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who had inaugurated the independence of the nation on the 4th of July, 1776, exactly fifty years afterwards—years not unmarked with other coincidences quite extraordinary, if this closing one had not thrown them all in the shade—were almost simultaneously translated, in the midst of the acclamations of millions of their race, to the judgment of their God. No greater sublunary blessing could have remained in store for them; for if the opinion ascribed to Solon be just, when asked by Crœsus, the rich Lydian monarch, whether he had ever seen a man more blessed than he, that he named two brothers—Cleobis and Bion—who once put themselves to the wagon, and drew their mother to Juno's temple, and then, after sacrificing and feasting, went to rest, and died together in the height of their reputation of filial piety, how much more deserving to be called blessed is the life of those two, who drew their nursing mother, against strong resistance, to the temple of Liberty, and who, after a long period of services and labors devoted to her welfare, went to the same rest, under auspices a thousand-fold more sublime! The moral of the story of Cleobis and Bion has, in the incidents which attended both the lives and the deaths of the two great men of America, an application by so much the wider, as it expands the beautiful idea of completed duty, from the narrow circle of a single household to the ever-unfolding area of a nation's home.

As the news of this singular coincidence spread over the land, it raised everywhere a thrill of emotion such as has never been caused by any other public event. It was not the wail of grief, such as is drawn forth by the sense of privation by the loss of valuable lives. The advanced age of these persons, if nothing else, neutralized that. It was the offspring of a mixture of feelings, the chief of which were surprise at the strangeness of the occurrence, veneration for the men themselves, and delight at the splendor which it would forever reflect upon a page of the national annals. Certainly the fabulous passing away of the first Roman King, nearly on the same anniversary, in the midst of elementary chaos, does not compare with it in grandeur. Men loved to meet each other, and to dwell on the most minute particulars, as they were sedulously laid before the public by the newspapers, and to read the comments, raised to unusual eloquence by the tone of the general mind. The first feelings were followed by enthusiastic demonstrations of respect to the memory of the dead. The most distinguished orators and statesmen were summoned to prepare eulogies or memoirs, which were delivered at times set apart for the performance of appropriate services.

In this way, a large number of orations and addresses were produced, which are not without their value as a permanent contribution to the literature and history of the United States. Among them it is not inappropriate to make particular mention of that delivered by Daniel Webster, on account of the facility with which he succeeded in weaving into the form of a speech in favor of independence energetic passages scattered in Mr. Adams's writings, and in animating the whole with somewhat of the ardor of the person he sought to personate. So successful has this attempt been regarded by some that to this day, the belief is entertained that the speech is indeed that which Mr. Adams actually made. Other addresses are valuable for authentic particulars and curious anecdotes, carefully collected at the time, which have thus been rescued from the oblivion which commonly overwhelms the personal reminiscences of cotemporaries. As time goes on, it is by no means unlikely that these various productions will be regarded with ever-growing interest, not simply for the facts, more or less correctly given, in which they abound, but also as marking an epoch in American history, the close of its heroic age.

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* These extracts, from the diary of George Whitney, afterwards pastor of the Unitarian parish at Jamaica Plain, in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and too early cut off in his sphere of usefulness, were furnished to me by the kindness of a surviving brother, the Reverend F. A. Whitney, of Brighton. The facts may be depended upon, which is not always the case with the last hours of distinguished men.

SLAVE INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

We have from time to time, during the last month or two, recorded various rumors of anticipated slave insurrections in different Southern States. These rumors have undoubtedly been much exaggerated, yet the recent advices from one or two counties in Tennessee show that a rebellious spirit has been entertained by some of the slaves there, but that it has been promptly put down, and the guilty parties summarily punished. Below we give some extracts from our exchanges in relation to other rumored insurrections.—*Baltimore Sun.*

From the Memphis News of Nov. 29.

A few weeks ago, the people of this section were startled by what were supposed to be authentic rumors of insurrection plots. This was the case in various other portions of the South. Not long since, a number of prominent citizens of New Madrid county, Missouri, called a meeting for the purpose of determining the best course to be adopted to suppress a supposed insurrection of the negroes in that and the adjoining counties. This move was put on foot after information had been received that the negroes of that county, together with those of Obion county, Tennessee, had concocted and were meditating a general insurrection, to take place about the 25th of December.

A few weeks ago, a man named Hancock was arrested in Union county, Arkansas, on suspicion of being engaged in trying to incite the slaves to insurrection. He made some confessions, and managed finally to escape, but was re-arrested, taken to El Dorado, tried, and shot—not, however, by regular process. He was not found guilty on the trial, but subsequently said he knew all about it, but would not tell. This so exasperated the people, as we learn from the *Claiborne* (La.) *Advocate*, that they seized him, and, being then convinced of his guilt, shot him in the woods. A man by the name of Martin was tried in El Dorado on a similar charge, convicted, and hanged. There was to be a general concentration of about three hundred negroes at a given point, led on by Hancock and several others. The town of El Dorado was to be attacked, its inhabitants murdered, and money and provisions obtained by force. The excitement extended down into Louisiana, and several planters examined their negroes, but they discovered nothing to implicate any one.

From the Somerville (Tenn.) Star of Nov. 29th.

Some weeks ago, during the insurrectionary excitement, we announced that twenty-three negroes had been incarcerated by the sheriff. Afterwards, upon trial of *habeas corpus*, seventeen of them were taken out, whipped, and taken home, and the remaining six were detained for trial. On last Monday, these were brought out and tried before a regular impanelled jury and three justices, who ordered that five of them should be whipped four times in two weeks, thirty-nine lashes each time, and, as a further punishment, that they should stand in the pillory four times—an hour each time. The sixth one, being an older man than the others, and for other considerations also, received but ten lashes.

From the Franklin (La.) Journal of Nov. 27.

The negroes arraigned in the parish of St. Martin, supposed to have been connected with an insurrectionary plot in that parish, have all been acquitted, except a free boy, who is now in jail. There were several white men, whom it was supposed had acted in concert with them, for whom a warrant was issued; and the deputy sheriff of the parish came to this place on Saturday evening last, and, accompanied by a posse, went in search of the fugitives, and below here, nearly opposite Pattersonville, took three of them from a flat-boat—on their way, we understand, to the terminus of the railroad. It is supposed that one of the parties arrested—whose name we do not remember—occupied a very conspicuous place in the movement of insurrection, having furnished the negroes with ammunition and arms. The free boy, and at least one of the white men, will suffer death for the part taken in the matter; and the Mr. Capdeboseq, who bears so unenviable a reputation in this section for his outrageous conduct while residing here, should be very summarily dealt with. He is a very dangerous character, and has, no doubt, done much to aggravate the present feeling among the colored population.

Correspondence of the Louisville Courier.

Hopkinsville, Ky., Dec. 3.—Our little town is up in arms at the present writing. "The negroes are marching upon us," is heard from every mouth. This morning, several messengers arrived from Lafayette, a small town eighteen miles south of Hopkinsville, calling on the citizens of this place to come to their assistance. They were momentarily expecting an attack from about six hundred negroes. About 150 persons left immediately for the "seat of war." They were in command of Captain James Jackson and Sheriff Gowan. Hopkinsville is strongly guarded. It is rumored we will be attacked to-night. I will write you again to-morrow. Would telegraph, but all communication has been cut off—the telegraph poles being cut down.

Accompanying the above is an extra from the Hopkinsville *Press*, which says:

"The negroes of Eclipse, Clark, and Lagrange, have united, and are marching towards Dover, and were within eight miles of that place when last heard from. Their intention is to relieve the negroes at Dover, then march to the Rolling Mill, then to Bell Wood Furnace, then through Lafayette, on to Hopkinsville and the Ohio river."

This statement, taken in connection with the fact that a regular plan for an insurrection has been detected at Clarksville, is truly alarming. We think, however, the account somewhat based on rumor, and not altogether reliable.

It is high time that steps were being taken for our defence in case of an insurrection. We have not a stand of arms in this whole section of the country, and no organized military. We are requested by many of our best citizens to call a meeting of the citizens of the country in this place, on Friday next, the 5th instant, to take immediate action upon this subject. Other questions of great importance, relating to the slaveholders' interest, will be presented to the meeting. Let every man attend.

Slave Excitement in Tennessee.

Louisville, Dec. 9.—The *Journal* of to-day publishes letters from Franklin, Tenn., stating that great excitement existed there, in consequence of the discovery, on the 1st instant, of a projected insurrection among the slaves. Twenty-four muskets and two kegs of powder were found in the possession of a gang of negroes at Columbia, Tenn. In Perry, ten or twelve negroes had been killed by their owners.

Further in Regard to the Nashville Insurrection.

Nashville, Dec. 10.—There have been many rumors here in regard to an expected insurrection of the slaves; but so far it is all quiet, and no outbreak had occurred. There is no anxiety upon the subject whatever.

Louisville, Dec. 10.—The *Courier's* Hopkinsville (Tenn.) correspondent says that the military company dispatched from that place to Lafayette, found the citizens of the latter place more scared than hurt, and returned the next day.

Slave Insurrection in Tennessee.

Fifteen Negroes Killed by their Owners—Eleven Others Hung—A White Man Whipped to Death—Seizure of Arms and Powder, &c.

Cincinnati, Dec. 9.—The Louisville *Journal* correspondence of to-day says there is great excitement at Franklin, Tennessee, owing to the projected insurrection among the slaves there. Twenty-four muskets and two kegs of powder had been found in the possession of a gang of negroes at Columbia, Tennessee.

In Perry, Tennessee, fifteen negroes had been killed by their owners.

The Evansville *Journal*, of the 6th inst., learns that there was much excitement in the neighborhood of Dover, on the Cumberland river, among the negroes. Many of the ringleaders had been arrested, and eleven hung. One white man, disguised as a negro, had been sentenced to nine hundred lashes, but died before the penalty was fully inflicted.

The whites were arming and organizing for defence. An opinion prevailed that a general uprising would take place among the negroes during the holydays. Escapes of slaves were unusually numerous.

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 10.—There have been rumors current here of an expected insurrection among the slaves, but all is quiet now. There has been no outbreak, and there is no anxiety felt on the subject.

The correspondent of the Louisville (Ky.) *Courier*, writing from Hopkinsville, says that the people of Hopkinsville despatched a company of men to Lafayette; but they found, on their arrival there, that the people were more scared than hurt, and therefore that they returned the next day.

From the Richmond (Va.) Whig.

Negro Insurrections.

We have met with various accounts in our exchanges, during the past few months, of threatened negro insurrections in the extreme Western and Southern States, which, for satisfactory reasons, we did not copy, or, otherwise, noticed very briefly. These reports begin to thicken, and as they emanate from points nearer our own territory, it is proper that we should give them publicity. We have not heard the first whisper of a suspicion against the subordination of the slave peasantry in Virginia, but the same poison which has infected the Western negroes may exert its baleful influence here, unless the antidote is kept in prudent readiness. The *Nashville Gazette*, of the 4th inst., says:

"Our city yesterday was rife with rumors in relation to the insurrection at different points along the river. We understand that six negroes, who had been found guilty at the iron works, and who threatened a second outbreak, were killed a few days since, and that two white men, known accessories in the matter, had been arrested, and nearly whipped to death. It is also reported that four negroes will be hung in Dover to-day, and a number of others have been arrested as implicated in the affair.

"Wherever these outbreaks have occurred, we have every reason to believe they have been instigated by white men, who are sent here from the North to disturb the peace of our sunny clime. They are the missionaries of Northern Abolitionism, and to rid that section of our country of such thieves and villains, they are sent here, as a fit place for their labors. Their plots are intended to benefit themselves, and they would resort to murder, incendiarism, and every vile project, to accomplish the desires of a hellish heart. These are the men whom *we should watch*, and whenever found in our midst, they should receive the punishment they deserve."

Slave Insurections.

In speaking of the numerous alarming reports of slave conspiracies appearing in the papers of the Southwest, the St. Louis *Democrat* takes occasion to make use of the following plain language:

"In Missouri, especially, have we felt the effects of this Slavery agitation and Slavery extension policy upon the part of the nullification faction, who have sought to float into power and office by continually exciting the passions of men, and provoking discussion in regard to this theme; and we venture to assert that, in consequence thereof, more slaves have been induced to escape from their masters, more desperate resolutions have been put into their heads, and more general insecurity entailed upon that species of property, within the past year, than during any five years preceding. Slaveholders are but now beginning to reap the baneful consequences of the audience which has been granted of late to those debased politicians whose only stock in trade was Slavery propagandism. The ferment excited in the minds of the masters soon extended itself to the slaves—for all who have lived in slaveholding communities well know how eagerly every scrap of parlor conversation, every excited harangue on the stump, or loud-toned dispute in the streets, is treasured up by the negro, and made the burden of kitchen comment during the hours of the night. If no other evil had befallen the people of Missouri, and especially the slaveholding population, this alone would be sufficient ground to induce them to banish these pestiferous politicians from their regard, and visit upon them the full weight of their censure and condemnation. No other means presents itself of so speedily giving peace to the community, security to the country domicil, and elevation to the character of the State, as the utter repudiation of the Atchisons and Stringfellows, and all others of that kidney, who have disgraced our Commonwealth with impunity in the past, and who would lead our people into still more dangerous straits in the future."

REMARKS

OF

SENATOR MASON, OF VIRGINIA,

AND

SENATOR TRUMBULL, OF ILLINOIS,

ON THE

Extension of Slavery into Free Territory.

In the Senate of the United States, Dec. 2. 1856.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President: The constant and obstinate agitation of questions connected with the institution of Slavery has brought, I am satisfied, the public mind, in those States where the institution prevails, to the conviction that the preservation of that institution rests with themselves, and with themselves only. Therefore, at this day, when it is the pleasure of Senators again to bring that institution under review upon this floor, in any connection whatever, as one of the representatives of the South I take no further interest in the discussion, or in the opinion which is entertained at the North in relation to it, than as it may confirm the hope that there is a public sentiment at the North yet remaining, which unites with the South in the desire to perpetuate the Union, and that, by the aid of that public sentiment at the North, the Union will be preserved. But further than that, as a statesman, and as one representing a Southern State where that institution prevails more largely than in any other, the public sentiment of the North is a matter indifferent to me, because I say again, we have attained the conviction that the safety of that institution will rest, must rest, and should rest, with the people of the States only where it prevails.

I should have taken no part in this debate, but that I am indisposed to allow any opinion to go abroad, that we of the South entertain a very great interest in the lines of discrimination or the shades of distinction which may be drawn as to the extent of the alleged power on the part of the Government of the United States to interfere with the institution at all, in any form or shape, or to have it supposed that we take an interest in having it narrowed down to the question whether that interference, when it is exerted, is to be confined to the institution outside of the States, and is not to affect it within the States. I know, as has been said by the Senator from New Hampshire, in the course of the last canvass, occasionally in public discussions, or in the newspapers, a disclaimer has been made of any purpose to interfere with Slavery in the States. I know, as has been said by the honorable Senator from Mississippi, that others at the North, perhaps a few, and perhaps of those who may be styled the fanatical portion, have assumed a right or have declared that a right exists to interfere with the institution within the States. What I want to declare here in my place on this floor is, that to the South such distinctions are matters of immaterial concern. If the Federal Government assumes a right, or if those should get into power who assume a right with a purpose to exercise it to interfere with the institution anywhere where it exists within the United States, it is a matter perfectly indifferent to us, whether it is to be done within the States or outside of the States. I take not the slightest interest in the distinction which is sought to be drawn.

Sir, I hold this to be the constitutional doctrine: The institution of Slavery existed when the Constitution was formed; it is recognised there as an existing social institution. It is not only protected by the duty imposed upon the Federal Government to see to the rendition of fugitives from it, but it is elevated into the element of political power by the Constitution; it is represented and made an element of political power. That is the contract into which we entered. I say, then, that being so under the Constitution, and in the spirit and tone of the Constitution, we have a right to the just and legitimate expansion of the institution; and if there were a power in the Federal Government to restrict or limit that expansion, it would be perfectly indifferent to us whether it should be exercised by prohibiting its expansion within the States where it exists, or outside their limits.

It was guarantied to the States retaining it as an element of power, for which full equivalents were exacted and conceded; and its capacity for expansion, fully to be enjoyed, is a necessary part of the contract.

I say again, therefore, for myself, and as far as I know the opinions of my people, we take no interest in Northern opinion on this subject, as to any lines of demarkation beyond which Federal power over the institution may not extend, except so far as respect and loyalty to the contract will lead them, in union with the South, to preserve and perpetuate the Constitution, which otherwise must be destroyed. It is only because of the earnest and anxious hope which I entertain, that a fabric of Government which has had no predecessor in the world, which, if honestly and legitimately administered, would make us the greatest people that has ever yet existed, both in moral and physical power, should be preserved and perpetuated, that I have said thus much.

The honorable Senator from New Hampshire felicitates himself that this is the last message which is to emanate from the present Executive, and therefore he is disposed to let it pass with less severity of comment. He may well felicitate himself; for, if I do not mistake humanity, the bold truths, the patriotic and manly tone of that message, will penetrate the Northern heart, and cause it to throb with pulsations and purposes not exactly in unison with those of the Senator and the party with which he is acting. I do not doubt, and avail myself of the occasion to declare it as my judgment, that the sentiments and the reasoning of that message will find a responsive "yea" wherever, throughout the world, the great principles of civil liberty are known and appreciated.

Sir, I am inspired with new hope in the result of the late election, to find that the Northern mind in four of the most important States of the Union, where this institution does not prevail, concurring with the views now given in the message, did unite with the South in keeping out of power a party whose success must necessarily have torn this Union into fragments. Two Middle States, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and two Western States, Indiana and Illinois, repudiated, upon a direct issue in the canvass made, naked, uncovered, open, any power in the Federal Government to interfere with the extension of Slavery into Territory the common property of all the States, by majorities which carried the Presidential election against that party. I trust there will be found on all future occasions, if we are ever to undergo the ordeal from which we have recently emerged, a Northern sentiment sound upon this question of constitutional power—sound as we of the South esteem it, who, in

[SEE FOURTH PAGE.]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1856.

Office, No. 501 Seventh street, between D and E, one square south of City Post Office.

A WORD OR TWO TO OUR OWN SUBSCRIBERS.

Very many of our letters this year from our agents contain some such language as this—"I have hard work to make up my club—not that subscribers do not like the paper—they would prefer it, indeed—but the *Tribune*, the *Post*, and the *Times*, now occupy the same political position, and can be had at $1 in clubs, while the *Era* costs $1.50. If you could put your paper at $1, your list would be doubled or trebled."

The competition is formidable, and somewhat discouraging—but, if I put down the *Era* to $1, it could not live six months. Journeymen printers charge in Washington from 40 to 45 cents a thousand for composition—in the Eastern cities, the price ranges from 28 to 33. The difference in press work is about the same. So in the article of paper—the Eastern publishers are near their supplies, and their freight is comparatively small. All my paper is purchased in Philadelphia, and the freight is a very heavy burden. As it is, with all these advantages, the New York publishers can afford their weeklies at $1 only because their immense advertisements make up for all losses, and yield vast profits.

Now, we are not one of the complaining tribe. The New York publishers have a right to make just as much money as they can by legitimate means—to print papers as low as they can afford—and the People have a perfect right to consult economy in determining what papers they will read. Some of our subscribers will stick to the *Era* so long as it shall be published—because it has become a domestic institution with them; or, because they think the pioneer political Anti-Slavery paper ought not to be deserted; or, because they prefer our way of discussing the Question of Slavery; or, because they like the peculiar combinations of literary and political matter in our columns; or, because they are really impressed with the importance of sustaining at the Seat of Government the only paper which upholds Anti-Slavery principles, and represents the prevailing sentiment of the free States—and these will not be greatly troubled at the idea of paying $1.50 a year for what they get; but we are a little too old not to know that there is a very large class of readers with whom all these considerations will give way to a difference in price of fifty cents; and so well do we understand this, that our only wonder is that we have been able so long to stand up, without State or local support, against the heavy competition of the New York weeklies.

Meantime, let those who intend to support the *Era* renew their subscriptions, and each one constitute himself an agent to send us other subscriptions. As to the rest, all we can say is, we cannot print the *Era* at $1 a year, and keep it living six months, without charity—and, as we intend never to publish a charity paper, or one which must be supported by contributions, we cannot offer it at less than $1.50 in clubs.

PHILADELPHIA ERA AGENCY.—Mr. John Hughes, No. 5 Walnut Place, is our agent for Philadelphia, to whom subscriptions for this paper may be paid. We hope the friends of the *Era* in that city will assist Mr. Hughes in giving it an increased circulation.

☞ THE SPEECH OF MR. HALE last week, in the Senate, in reply to Mr. Cass, is reported by those who heard him, as one of the most powerful speeches delivered this session. We are sorry that it was not reported in the *Globe* in time for us to prepare a sketch of it.

A SEVERE REBUKE.—See the proceedings of the House yesterday. Southern and Northern men united in administering a terrible rebuke to Governor Adams, and acquitting the American people of all sympathy with his wicked position on the subject of the slave trade.

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION is handled pretty severely in all quarters, even by the strict constructionists of the South, who are out of patience with its nonsensical resolutions in favor of Dudley Mann's mammoth steamers and Tehuantepec grants.

GAS BURNER.—Consumers of gas will find both economy and increased light by using Benjamin's Scotch Lip Burners. They can be had of Mr. John Jenkins, of New York.

FEAR IS CRUEL.—Thirty or forty colored people, men and women, assembled last Saturday night at the place of the late Dr. Alexander, near Four Mile Run, not far from Alexandria, to eat a grand supper, and have a good time generally. Despatches were exchanged at once between the Departments at Washington, the Mayor of Alexandria, and the Governor of Virginia. Patrols started out, made a sudden descent, broke up the festivities, captured the company, and carried them off to Alexandria, where they were whipped and fined according to law—and thus a most formidable insurrection was nipped in the bud!

What next? *Mercury*, of the Baltimore *Sun*, who relates these facts, states that all of the party were young, and only one of them armed—and his weapon was a pistol. We shall sleep in peace now, if the Departments at Washington, the Mayor of Alexandria, and the Governor of Virginia, will continue to keep a bright lookout.

CALIFORNIA.—Our friends who calculated so confidently on California must now see how visionary were their speculations. Buchanan, so far as ascertained, receives 43,000 votes, Fillmore 28,000, Fremont 17,000. How can we reap where we have not sown?

The Senate stands—18 Buchanan, 12 Fillmore, and 3 Republicans. Two of the Buchanan Senators, however, may vote against that Party on the Senatorial question, giving the opposition one majority. In the Assembly, the Buchanan men, it is supposed, will have a majority of ten over all.

PROTECTION ON THE ADVANCE IN THE SOUTH. Mr. Toombs says, that direct trade between the South and Europe can be secured, not by mere voluntary action, but by legislation. Southern States cannot levy duties on imports, but they can tax all imported goods, whether from other States or other nations, offered for sale within their limits, and this they ought to do, exempting from taxation like goods, imported directly into said States. This is protection with a vengeance.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

The Committee of Ways and Means reported several appropriation bills, and the tariff bill was made the special order for the second week in January.

Mr. Nichols, of Ohio, made an effective speech on the President's Message, and he was followed by Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, and Mr. Jones, of Tennessee.

It is with sincere regret that we announce the death of Gen. John G. Chapman, of Charles county, Maryland. He was in his usual good health up to the evening of the day previous to his death; but on Wednesday morning had an attack of apoplexy, which terminated his life in a few hours.—*Alexandria Gazette.*

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION—PREPARING FOR DISUNION.

Some time since, we directed attention to the fact that the "Southern Conventions," originally called with a view to promote the development of the industrial resources of the South, had been gradually assuming a political character, until at last their chief object seemed to be, to prepare the South for a dissolution of the Union, and the formation of a Southern Confederacy. This was denied by some Southern papers, but a reference to the proceedings of the Convention which met at Savannah last week will show that our view is correct.

It assembled on the 8th instant, a large number of delegates being present from all the slave States, with three or four exceptions. Mr. Lyons, of Virginia, on taking the chair, made a long speech, in which he said the South desired to maintain the Constitution and the Union, but it was her duty to prepare for contingencies. What had this to do with the industrial development of the South?

We shall glean the account of further proceedings from the telegraphic despatches, relying upon our Southern exchanges, when received, for the correction of errors, should there be any.

A Business Committee having been constituted, various resolutions submitted by members were referred to it. Mr. Swan, of Texas, moved that all bonds and notes issued by Southern States, cities, or counties, be made payable in said States; but this was opposed by Mr. Hubbard, of Alabama, who thought money should be got where it could be had, and the place of payment be left to the lender.

This device for rendering the South independent was referred.

Mr. Peoples, of Georgia, moved that each member subscribe $100 towards a direct line of steamers with Europe. In the enthusiasm of the moment the resolution was adopted, but, on sober second thought, the Convention reconsidered and referred this notable contrivance for getting up a direct trade with Europe. Six hundred delegates being present, a subscription of $100 each would amount to the mighty sum of $60,000, which would go a great way to establish a line of costly steamers!

Mr. Bethune, of Georgia, harangued the Convention in favor of the abolition of the Tariff, and of raising revenue by direct taxation. Mr. Kean, of Virginia, followed with a resolution deprecating the education of Southern youth at the North, and advocating the encouragement of Southern books, newspapers, and manufactures.

Mr. Goulding, of Georgia, following the line of policy prescribed by R. Barnwell Rhett, in his late Disunion manifesto, offered resolutions, instructing Southern Congressmen to use efforts for the repeal of the Tariff, and for the repeal of the laws abolishing the slave trade, and to procure a treaty for the rendition of slaves from Canada. These resolutions were laid on the table by nearly a unanimous vote, but, the next day, gave rise to a spirited discussion:

"Mr. Jones, of Georgia, moved to take up Mr. Goulding's resolution relative to the reopening of the slave trade, which had been laid on the table.

"Mr. Spratt, editor of the Charleston *Standard*, said he hoped that the motion would prevail, as he thought the question of Slavery was the most appropriate one to occupy the attention of the Convention. He advocated the renewal of the slave trade; and he desired to hear the objections stated by those who resisted the consideration of the subject.

"The Convention should not recognise the right of Congress to impose restrictions upon the slave trade. They should meet the question at once.

"Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, said he thought the Convention was not competent to consider the subject. It was a great moral question. The South should ponder long before defying the opinion of the whole Christian world. The recent message of the Governor of South Carolina has astounded the whole South, and, for one, he was not prepared to endorse his views on the subject. It was one involving tremendous consequences, and time for reflection was necessary.

"Mr. Richardson, of Maryland, said he was not prepared to advocate commerce in slaves, and he hoped that that firebrand would not be considered.

"Mr. Gholson, of Va., said he opposed taking the subject up. It was useless now to discuss with the world this moral question. If the South demanded a revival of the slave trade, it would drive away many now with us, and be regarded as a direct attack upon the Union.

"Mr. Goulding, of Georgia, made a fiery speech, defending the renewal of slave trade. Slavery was a gift from God, and he was ready to defend it in all its bearings. It conferred equal blessings on both races. It was a greater crime to tear husband from wife in Virginia, to work the cotton fields of the South, than to purchase a negro in Africa, and christianize and civilize him. Now was the time to decide the question, and assert our rights before the whole world.

"Messrs. Cropper and Green, of Va., endorsed Mr. Goulding's views.

"Mr. McLeod, of Texas, pledged his State to the extremest views urged to-day. Mexico was falling to pieces by our side, and we must introduce there our peculiar institution, and counteract European intrigues. Negro labor was necessary to the development of that region.

"The motion to take up the resolution was lost by a vote of 16 to 68. South Carolina, Texas, and part of the Tennessee delegates, voting in the affirmative.

"Mr. Cochrane, of Alabama, chairman of the business committee, reported resolutions relative to the Pacific Railroad. The first declares that the General Government had no power to contract for such a road. The railroad should be made along the line of the 32d parallel of longitude, by and from States, individuals, and territories, and by grants of land from the Federal Government, and contracts for carrying the mails and military stores, &c.

"Also recommending the Southern States to aid by every means the construction of the road.

"The first resolution was adopted, but a long debate ensued on the second.

"Mr. Burford defended the resolution as a practical measure.

"Mr. Bucknell defended the resolution for asking a grant of land of the Government as a practical measure. He regarded the proposed road as a conduit to carry Southern institutions to the countries bordering on the proposed route, including Northern Mexico. The coöperation of the whole South was needed, or a route through Northern States would be selected, to injure the South. He denies the power of the General Government to build the road.

"Mr. Hubbard, of Alabama, thought that as the General Government was to be benefited by the building of the road, it should grant the land.

"Mr. Clements, of Va., opposed at length the asking of grants of land of Congress, as likely to lead to corruption and abuse of power. The Government had no constitutional right to grant lands to railroads.

"Mr. Cochrane, of Alabama, defended the resolutions. It was necessary for the preservation of Southern institutions, that the road should be built through Southern States. He defended the constitutionality of the mode proposed at great length.

"Mr. Albert Pike thought the resolutions were unnecessary, as the scheme proposed by him had already been adopted by the last two Conventions. This invited the coöperation of the Southern States, cities, and individuals, in a joint stock company. A charter had already been obtained from Louisiana, and he hoped a book for subscriptions would soon be opened.

"He wanted the General Government to have nothing to do with building the road; but as the North was getting large donations of lands, the South should take her share. He referred to the rapidly-increasing preponderance of the North, and the hostility to the South evinced there in the vote at the recent election. The South must act, or it would be too late, and the North would build. He was opposed to disunion. He depicted the horrible consequences, but he believed it preferable to inequality and oppression in the Union.

"After farther debate, the resolutions were recommitted, and the Convention adjourned.

"There is a grand ball being given to the delegates to-night. The discussions to-day were animated and interesting. The ultra Southern sentiments that were uttered were received with decided applause. There is no prospect of a final adjournment before Friday. The business committee are hard at work. Over eight hundred delegates are here. A letter from Hon. M. Sanels will be read in Convention to-morrow."

No man of ordinary intelligence will, after this exhibition of the proceedings and temper of the Convention, doubt that the real policy of those who control it is, to familiarize the Southern People with the idea of a dissolution of the Union, and to prepare them for the formation of a Southern Confederacy. Extreme measures, it will be observed, are opposed, not because they are *wrong*, not because the members generally did not approve of them, *on principle*, but because they are inexpedient for the present, and might drive off many persons well-disposed to their cause; and, besides, the South is not now prepared to defy the moral sentiment of the world.

The Convention, from beginning to end, assumed a political and revolutionary tone. All its projects contemplate Southern independence of the Union—and it speaks in an authoritative, almost mandatory style, as if well assured of the support of the Southern People.

We subjoin brief telegraphic despatches, completing the account of the proceedings of the Southern Convention. The delegates confined themselves to resolutions, but these are more extreme and sweeping than any previously adopted.

Mr. Toombs, it will be observed, is in favor of absolute free trade and direct taxation. So are we—the sooner we come to the policy, the better for the morals of the country and its Government. The immense surplus revenue raised by the present system of imposts invites to plunder, and affords the means of corrupt and profligate expenditures. "Come easy, go easy." So long as sixty or seventy millions are slipped out of the People's pockets without any consciousness on their part, they will not trouble themselves about the millions spent on war preparations and monopolies. A system of direct taxation, too, would include the slaves, who, we are told, are valued at about two thousand millions of dollars.

The Convention at first laid the subject on the table, but subsequently reconsidered it, and referred it to a committee of one from each State, with instructions to report upon it to the next Conventio

A very curious resolution is the one, requesting Southern Legislatures to order the use of Southern school-books in Southern schools and colleges! The resolutions in favor of the establishment of foundries for casting cannon and small arms, for ascertaining whether the South has a due proportion of arms and munitions of war belonging to the Federal Government, and calling upon said Government to put Southern harbors in a state of defence, are quite belligerent, while those recommending organizations for the slave-colonization of Kansas, and sympathizing with Walker's movements in Central America and his reinstitution of Slavery, sufficiently indicate the Propagandist character of the Convention.

It will be observed that the friends of the foreign slave trade gained strength as the discussion proceeded, the final vote being twenty-four yeas to sixty-seven nays. The presumption is, that not a few negative votes were given for prudential reasons, and not from any real repugnance to the traffic. The following item from one of our Southern exchanges may throw some light on the difference of opinion between the States importing and the States exporting slaves:

"*Extraordinary Price for Slaves.*—A letter from Lexington, Georgia, December 2d, to the *Augusta Chronicle*, says:

"'About $100,000 worth of property was sold here to-day—land and slaves. Some of the sales were ahead of anything we have ever heard. A slave girl, 15 years old, sold for $1,280; another girl, 14 years old, sold for $1,280; a girl, 14 years old, for $1,305; a girl, 18 years old, for $1,500; a boy, 18 years old, for 1,290; a man, 22 years old, for $1,500. They belonged to the estate of John Wynn, deceased, and were sold on a credit of twelve months. There were fifty-seven of Wynn's slaves sold to-day, and brought $44,026. Of these, a great number (more than ordinary) were women and children, and a few diseased and old, sold low. They were common slaves, field hands.

"'But the most extraordinary sales were of three slaves belonging to the estate of Mrs. Mary Watson Leah. A girl, 16 years old, sold for $1,525; Harriet, about 20 years old, and child in her arms, sold for $1,840—terms, 12 months.'"

Now, admit that slaves are property, in the same sense that horses and mules are, that slave labor is better than free labor, ought to be cherished, perpetuated, and increased, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion which Governor Adams, of South Carolina, boldly announces—that the law prohibiting the importation of such labor ought to be repealed.

It is unjust to the slave-importing States to restrict them for their supplies to the markets of Virginia and the Northern slave States! There are Southern People who now shrink from such reasoning as this, but, if they adopt the dogmas inculcated so assiduously by the Richmond *Enquirer* and Richmond *Whig*, about the "failure of free society," and the necessity and incomparable advantages of slave labor, they will in time be led to agree with Governor Adams. They are on the same line with South Carolina; the only difference is, she is somewhat in advance of them.

The Southern Convention—Fourth Day.

Savannah, Dec. 11.—The Southern Commercial Convention re-assembled this morning. Mr. De Bow, of Louisiana, from the Committee on Business, offered a series of resolutions appointing a meeting of the Convention at Knoxville, Tennessee, on the second Monday in August next; endorsing Mr. Dudley Mann's scheme for the establishment of a line of iron steam ferry boats, of thirty thousand tons, to run between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven; favoring the introduction of Southern text-books into Southern schools and colleges, and the appointment of a committee of distinguished Southern Professors to prepare such works; recommending Southern Legislatures to order the use of said books in Southern schools; recommending the encouragement of Southern books, periodicals, and journals, in place of Northern publications; and recommending the encouragement of the mining and manufacturing interests of the South. All these resolutions were adopted.

Mr. Sammis reported favorably upon an inter-oceanic communication, via the Isthmus of Tehauntepec, and offered a resolution recommending Congress to make a contract with the Company for the transportation of mails between New Orleans and California by that route. Adopted.

The resolutions in favor of the Pacific Railroad, reported yesterday, were taken up and adopted, without amendment.

Many other resolutions were offered and reported.

A letter from Mr. Toombs was read, in favor of absolute free trade and direct taxation. One thousand copies of it were ordered to be printed.

Much desultory debate, *pro.* and *con.*, took place, in regard to the opening of the slave trade, and the exclusion of everything of Northern manufacture from the South.

Savannah Convention—Fifth Day.

Savannah, Dec. 12.—The resolutions in favor of free trade and direct taxation were laid on the table, 57 to 24; but the vote was subsequently reconsidered, and a committee of one from each State appointed, to consider the subject and report to the next Convention.

Resolutions in favor of the completion of certain railroads through Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, were adopted.

Mr. Hubbard, of Alabama, offered a resolution advocating the establishment of a detective police, to ferret out disturbers of the peace in the Southern States, and a union of Southern planters for the establishment of a fiscal agency.

The resolutions for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the expediency of opening the slave trade were debated.

Albert Pike made an eloquent speech in opposition to the opening of the slave trade, on the ground of humanity. He hoped the whole world would ultimately be free.

Mr. Baker, of Alabama, replied to Mr. Pike. He contrasted the condition of society at the North and the South, and drew a conclusion in favor of the latter, and hoped that Slavery would always exist.

The resolutions were rejected, 24 to 61; Alabama, South Carolina, and Texas, voting in the affirmative.

Various resolutions were reported, viz: in favor of mail contracts to the North and South American Steamship Company; the establishment of foundries for casting cannon and small arms; recommending organizations to promote Southern emigration to Kansas; inquiring whether a due proportion of arms and munitions of war belonging to the Government is in the Southern arsenals; asking Congress to put Southern harbors in a state of defence; sympathising with Democratic movements in Central America, and the introduction of Slavery there. These were all adopted.

A committee was appointed to call the next Convention, and issue an address to the Southern people.

The final adjournment takes place this evening.

The closing hours of the Southern Convention were marked by an act clearly indicative of its *animus* towards the North.

"The negative vote on the resolution favoring the re-opening of the slave trade was explained by an amendment to that effect *that said vote was not actuated by any feeling of deference to the North.*"

Such an amendment rather proves what it denies. It seems to indicate that in all its proceedings the Convention was actuated by a constant reference to the North—which is certainly the next thing to deference.

COMPARATIVE TABLES.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN 1852.

Free States.

	Pierce.	Scott.	Hale.
Maine - - -	41,609	32,543	8,030
New Hampshire	29,997	16,167	6,695
Vermont - - -	13,044	22,173	8,621
Massachusetts -	46,880	56,063	29,993
Rhode Island -	8,735	7,626	644
Connecticut -	33,249	30,359	3,160
New York - -	262,083	234,882	25,329
New Jersey -	44,305	38,556	350
Pennsylvania -	198,568	179,122	8,524
Ohio - - -	169,220	152,526	31,682
Michigan - -	41,842	33,860	7,237
Indiana - -	95,299	80,901	6,934
Illinois - -	80,597	64,934	9,966
Wisconsin - -	33,658	22,240	8,814
Iowa - - -	8,624	7,444	777
California - -	39,665	34,971	100

Slaveholding States.

	Pierce.	Scott.	Hale.
Delaware - -	6,318	6,293	62
Maryland - -	40,022	35,077	54
Virginia - -	72,413	57,132	
North Carolina	39,744	39,038	59
South Carolina.*			
Georgia - -	34,705	16,660	
Alabama - -	26,881	15,038	
Florida - - -	4,318	2,875	
Louisiana - -	18,647	17,255	
Texas - - -	13,552	4,995	
Mississippi - -	26,876	17,548	
Arkansas - -	12,173	7,401	
Tennessee - -	57,018	58,898	
Kentucky - -	53,806	57,068	263
Missouri - - -	36,642	28,944	

* By Legislature.

Vote of the Free States - -	2,318,578
Vote of the Slave States - -	807,772
Total vote - - - -	3,126,353

Adding 40,000 for the popular vote of South Carolina, had it been cast in 1852, the voters of all the Slave States would have been - 847,775

Voters of the Free States - -	2,318,578
Voting population of Free over Slave States - - - - -	1,471,803
Pierce over Scott in Free States -	133,028
Pierce over Scott in Slave States -	78,893
Pierce over Scott in all the States -	211,921
Total vote for Hale - - - -	157,296
Scott and Hale over Pierce in Free States - - - - - - -	28,828
Pierce over Scott and Hale in Slave States - - - - - - -	78,455
Total vote for Pierce - - -	1,590,490
Total vote for Scott - - -	1,378,589
Total vote for Scott and Hale - -	1,535,863
Majority for Pierce - - -	54,627

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN 1856.

Free States.

	Fremont.	Buchanan.	Fillmore.
Maine* - - -	67,514	38,038	3,235
New Hampshire	38,342	32,782	420
Vermont - - -	39,963	10,577	546
Massachusetts -	108,190	39,240	19,726
Rhode Island -	11,379	6,580	1,663
Connecticut - -	42,735	34,995	2,605
New York - -	275,440	195,314	124,206
New Jersey - -	28,307	47,412	26,091
Pennsylvania -	147,548	230,500	82,229
Ohio - - - -	187,497	170,903	28,125
Michigan - - -	71,162	52,139	15,061
Indiana - - -	94,376	118,672	22,386
Illinois - - -	96,180	105,344	37,451
Wisconsin - -	66,092	52,736	579
Iowa - - - -	44,127	36,241	9,444
California - -	17,000	43,000	28,000

* A few towns not reported in time.

In Vermont, scattering is credited 75 votes; in Massachusetts, 3,006. In Pennsylvania, Gerrit Smith received 18 votes, in Ohio 157, in Michigan 150.

Slaveholding States.

	Buchanan.	Fillmore.	Fremont.
Delaware - -	8,003	6,175	306
Maryland - -	39,115	47,462	281
Virginia* - -	89,975	60,039	291
North Carolina	46,764	36,609	
South Carolina.†			
Georgia - - -	56,407	42,352	
Alabama - -	46,639	28,552	
Florida‡ - - -	7,000	5,475	
Louisiana - -	22,164	20,709	
Texas - - - -			
Arkansas - -			
Mississippi - -	35,303	24,213	
Tennessee - -	73,638	66,178	
Kentucky - -	69,509	63,391	373
Missouri - - -	58,161	48,524	

* Calhoun and Warwick not included.
† Election by Legislature.
‡ Not exact.

Total vote of the Free States for Fremont - - - - -	1,335,852
Total vote of the Free States for Buchanan - - - - -	1,214,473
Total vote of the Free States for Fillmore - - - - -	401,767
Total vote of the Free States -	2,952,092
To this must be added the vote marked Gerrit Smith and scattering - - - - - -	3,406
The California vote not yet heard from	12,000
Giving an aggregate vote of the Free States of - - - -	2,967,498

The votes of several counties of several States were not reported in time—others were thrown out on account of informality. We may therefore assume, that the whole vote cast by citizens of the Free States, at the late election, was 3,000,000; nearly 700,000 more than that cast four years ago, and only 169,855 less than the vote of the whole Union at that time.

We shall defer other summings up until the votes of all the slaveholding States shall have been reported.

THE EVACUATION OF GRANADA BY WALKER, it is stated, was in consequence of the great sickness prevailing there.

APPARENT MODERATION.

The letter of Walker to Goicouria, instructing him to advance certain interests in England, by representing the new Nicaraguan Government as hostile to the Democracy of the North, we treated as a sham. It was not credible that an American, bent on establishing Slavery in Central America, acting in concert with Mr. Soulé and other ardent supporters of Mr. Buchanan, depending solely for recruits and encouragement on emigration from the United States, and sustained in his policy by that portion of the American Press which proposes the expansion of slaveholding institutions by the absorption of Central America and Mexico, and the annexation of Cuba, should really intend "to cut," as he styles it, the expanding power of the Union. The letter was a mere diplomatic trick, like the coquetting of General Houston with England, when our Government was rather sluggish in taking Texas to its embrace. Nor did we put any faith in the display of indignation against Walker by the prudent journals in the South in the interest of Buchanan. Their protests against the Central American usurper could be quoted (as they were) by Northern Buchanan papers, to show how groundless are the imputations of the Republican Press against the Southern Democracy, of harboring schemes of territorial aggrandizement. Shrewd politicians are our Southern Propagandists! They have elected their man, President. They must not by a precipitate development of extreme purposes drive him into the arms of the Conservatives; they must surround him with their own counsellors; they must not frighten off the Squatter Sovereignty Democrats of the North; they must not put weapons into the hands of the Republicans, who, to their surprise, have rolled up so vast a popular vote; they must not, *in the beginning* of the new Administration, load it with burdens which would break it down ere it have time to organize and consolidate its power. But, under this show of moderation, let the work of Slavery Propagandism go on in a quiet way. *Apparent moderation, real aggression*—this is the policy.

The *Richmond* (Va.) *Enquirer*, just now so self-restrained, a short time since published approvingly a letter from a young Virginian in Nicaragua, dated October 30, exulting in the re-institution of Slavery in that country, and assigning, moreover, reasons why Southern men, with their slaves, should at once proceed to settle the new State.

"This magnificent country General Walker has taken possession of in the name of the white race, and now offers to you, to you and your slaves, at a time when you have not a friend on the face of the earth.

"What will you do for him? You must support him with men and money. The men most wanted are men of education, fit to serve in the civil government, and command in the army. Are there not scores of just such men, wasting their lives in idleness, and without a prospect for the future, in Virginia?

"Next, money. Will the South let slip this glorious acquisition, from sheer niggardliness? Rightly appreciated and rightly urged, it seems to me not only individuals, but States, would come forward to aid the great and effective champion of their interests, and the only one in the world.

"Take hold, my dear friend, and make the Southern press take hold—bring all your enthusiasm to the work, and let us see what can be done. * * * Here is something tangible—here is a new State soon to be added to the South, in or out of the Union—here is the first piece of Mexico, in fact, the whole of which, in a short lifetime, will fall into the hands of the white men of North America, and it behooves you to begin in time to secure your portion of the prize, for you are going to find it no easy task. I speak of Mexico (including, of course, Central America, in the same destiny) with absolute confidence. The expulsion of the Spanish masters has left that country to the red man, the Spanish Indian—an inferior and incompetent race—and the result is altogether analogous to the result of emancipation in the West Indies, just as the cause is similar. In both instances, the support of the strong will and high intelligence of the white man has been withdrawn, and, forthwith, the red man and the black man, liberated, but incapable and helpless, have sunk down from the position in which they had been held up and sustained, and lapsed rapidly towards their original and natural barbarism."

"*In or out of the Union.*" This is the phraseology now fashionable in the South, when the fulfilment of any Pro-Slavery policy is insisted on.

The idea of the falling to pieces of Mexico is common in the South. The *Richmond Enquirer*, in its issue of November 20th, says:

"The condition of Mexico is the most interesting study that can engage the thought of the citizen of this country. Its destiny is the most momentous problem in American statesmanship. For, in any event, whether of adversity or of national triumph, the fate of Mexico must decisively affect the welfare of our own Republic.

"Lying contiguous to our Southern border, and midway between our Atlantic and Pacific possessions—touching us in two principal points, and interposing its immense dominions into the heart of our territory—embracing so considerable and so desirable a portion of the Continent, and competing with us for the control of the American Mediterranean—capable of contributing with prolific prodigality to the aggrandizement of our commerce, and, if successful in its experiment of Republican institutions, promising its sympathy and support in the great cause of popular government—by the necessities of its position our most intimate friend in peace, or our most mischievous enemy if torn from its natural alliance by the hostile counsels of other Powers—able to help or to harm us beyond the calculations of a short-sighted diplomacy, and claiming our vigilant regard even in the quietest moment of its existence—the condition of Mexico should be at all times and under all circumstances the chief study of our statesmanship, and the constant care of our Government.

"In proportion as Mexico appears to stagger on the brink of ruin, do its claims to our regard multiply. It is our duty to succor it by all possible assistance; and, in the worst extremity, to see that it falls a prey to the ambition of no European Power."

How this catastrophe is to be prevented is frankly stated in the following paragraph:

"*Another Sick Man.*—The *Daily Creole*, of New Orleans, November 22, says of Mexico what the Czar of Russia said of Turkey:

"'What next in the calendar of national events? The Mexican Republic is the sick man of the North American Continent. The pear, to change the figure, is ripening, and, sooner or later, must fall into the lap of *Los Americanos del Norte*. The acquisition of the land of the Montezumas—mark it, reader—is only a question of time.'"

Meantime, as Nicaragua is "the first piece" to be seized, in the language of the *Richmond Enquirer* correspondent, the work is going on bravely. Colonel Titus is on his way from Kansas, with a company of recruits for Walker. A free passage is announced, in the following card, which appeared in the *Galveston News* of the 25th of November:

"CITY HOTEL, NEW ORLEANS,
"*November* 19, 1856.

"I am authorized by Mr. Charles Morgan, of New York, to say that a free passage will be given from Galveston to New Orleans, and from New Orleans to Nicaragua, to any and all persons who may emigrate from your State to that country; and instructions have been received by the Southern Steamship Company of this city to receive all emigrants to Nicaragua who may apply for passage on their steamers; and the steamer leaving Galveston on the 23d instant has been instructed to do so. By this arrangement, persons who may desire to emigrate to Nicaragua from Texas have free passages. All other expenses, such as board, &c., will be at the expense of the emigrant. Any assistance you may think proper to render our cause will be thankfully received by me. I am going out on the Tennessee, and will have one of the best battalions ever in this city; and when we arrive in Central America, we intend to make our mark on the walls of San Jose in less than six months. Remember that—we will redeem it. S. A. LOCKRIDGE."

And agents, as would seem from the following paragraph in the *New Orleans Creole* of the 27th of November, are beating up for emigrants in the Southwestern States generally:

"Colonel E. J. C. Kewen, special agent of the Nicaraguan Government, left to-day for Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, via Mobile. The Colonel says that he wants men enough to 'walk over the Central American track!' When that is accomplished, if the South will send a few thousand negroes to Nicaragua—the institution of Slavery being now re-established there—the whole of the Central American States will 'bloom and blossom as the rose.' That's the talk."

While this is going on, the *Richmond Enquirer*, the late convert to moderate counsels, is urging upon Mr. Buchanan, as Secretary of War, General Quitman, the avowed supporter of the policy of extending Slavery, by annexing Cuba, absorbing Central America, and administering on the effects of the "sick man," Mexico!

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

The latest dates from Kansas are to the 3d inst. The Free State militia under Capt. Walker had been disbanded according to their own request. Sixteen of the Free State prisoners, tried for murder in the first degree, had been acquitted.

From the Kansas documents accompanying the President's Message, it seems that Governor Geary, on the 20th September, addressed a letter to the Governor of Missouri, in quite flattering terms, but specifying numerous outrages committed by citizens of Missouri in Kansas, and closing as follows:

"Your Excellency will readily perceive from the above the cause of grievance; and you will much aid my efforts to restore order in this distracted Territory by issuing a proclamation forbidding all robbers, incendiaries, and murderers, now infesting this Territory, to take refuge upon your soil, upon pain of being declared outlaws and bandits, and making such other suggestions as you may deem advisable to aid the cause I have so much at heart.

"I also desire your Excellency to cause to be released from captivity the son of O. C. Brown, Bambridge Fuller, and any other persons, if there be any such, who have been forcibly carried from this Territory into the State of Missouri."

The requests of Governor Geary, so reasonable and so politely urged, it would seem, never met with any response from "His Excellency."

The following letter, from our well-informed correspondent in Lecompton Prison, is full of interest.

PRISON AT TECUMSEH, KANSAS,
December 1, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

All the untried prisoners remaining at Lecompton last Wednesday morning were this day brought up to this place. Before we left, another of the convicted prisoners had escaped, and the others had been taken to a new prison, a log-house, sixteen by eighteen, just in the outskirts of Lecompton. Captain Hampden, the Warden, had made a sort of Second Warden of Mr. Samuel Stuart, one of the prisoners lately from Detroit, and a relative of Senator Stuart, of Michigan, and he now goes about town purchasing provisions, and doing whatever he chooses, on his parole of honor. Since the departure of the militia we have all been guarded by the regular troops.

Five of our number escaped the night before we were brought here. Captain Mitchell was among the number who left; several preferred to stay a few days longer, as there was a prospect of our being shortly brought here, where we could have better quarters and fare, and be where we could view the progress of the trial of our friends.

Besides those who escaped since I last wrote, Colonel Titus released two of the prisoners on his own responsibility, and wholly without any legal process, thus showing *his* opinion of the validity and binding qualities of the pretended Territorial laws. The first he released was E. R. Folly. Titus's excuse was, that Folly had shown him great kindness when he—Titus—was a prisoner at Lawrence. The other was Mr. Butler, who told Titus, the last day that his militia guarded us, that he *could not go with him to Nicaragua unless he would let him out.* Titus immediately took him past the guard, and told him to meet him at Leavenworth or St. Louis. I think by this time Butler has concluded not to go to Central America. Without approving of such deception, it may have served to show that the bogus laws are considered a mere farce, even by the Pro-Slavery leaders themselves.

Some new arrests have lately been made in and around Ossawatomie. Five men were brought in from this region last Tuesday night. They were arrested nearly a week before. They were among the earliest settlers of South Kansas. Their names are Samuel, William, and Henry Kilbourn, formerly of Chillicothe, Ohio; James Townsley, Fallston, Md.; and William Partridge, from Vinland, Winnebago county, Iowa. This last is a brother of the Mr. Partridge who was murdered after the battle of Ossawatomie, while crossing Meridesin. Each of these men is charged with some eight or ten horrid crimes, which have never been committed by anybody.

In a former letter, written during the trials at Lecompton, I spoke of a young lawyer, named Putnam, who was one of Captain Robinson's company at Hickory Point, but who was afterwards engaged as assistant counsel for the prisoners. His company was also engaged in the burning of Grasshopper Falls. The Pro-Slavery officials told him, if he acted as our counsel, they would have him arrested for this affair, and they have made good their word; he is now a prisoner with us. Captain Robertson and the remainder of the company are at large; no one complains against them, no official would arrest them. This is the way law is administered in Kansas.

I have once told you that thirty-one of the prisoners first sent up here made their escape a few days after their arrival. My former statement of this affair was incorrect. The other sixteen did not wish to go, and for this reason managed to get in a room by themselves. Those who escaped were in two rooms, with a hall between them. The affair was all arranged between the two parties, and the hole cut nearly through the outside wall, which was of brick, and sixteen inches in thickness, in each room, several days before their hasty departure. The night of their departure, the remaining bricks were removed, and a comic song, with a chorus of "Pop goes the weasel," was struck up, and sung by those in each room alternately, and at each repetition of the chorus, one of the prisoners would "pop" out. By this means, the prisoners in all the rooms could tell whenever one went, and from what room. The loud and boisterous singing, too, drowned the noise made in getting out, and kept down suspicion. A sentry walked up and down by the side of the building, but he was watched through the grating; and whenever he had once passed the "hole in the wall," and had his back towards it, "pop went the weasel." When all who wished to go had gone, H. N. Dunlap, who had refused to go, crawled out, to see if the boys had all got off safely. While looking about, the sentinel caught him, and called the sergeant of the guard, who came, and brought the prisoner back to the room, by way of the door, on opening which he swore rather fluently, and declared that if he had known so many had escaped, he would have shot Dunlap instead of bringing him in. He is about the only Pro-Slavery man in the company. There was but one of the prisoners in the other room, when he opened the door to that. This was little Walter Florentine, who had been sung to sleep, and thus failed to get away.

The trial of fifteen of them who remained, commenced on Wednesday. The other was discharged by a *nolle prosequi*. The cause was this. It will be recollected that when the prisoners were brought up here for trial, the marshal compelled them to walk, although there was hardly a well man among them. Two soon gave out, and were left lying on the road until the soldiers' baggage wagon came up, and took them in. Several others were so fatigued, that severe illness was the result. One, a boy, about sixteen years old, named Oliver Langworthy, *has gone blind in consequence*. The *nolle prosequi* was rendered in his case, more for the purpose of getting him as a witness than to remunerate him for the outrages he had received. But in this they failed; for when he was called as witness, he was not here. By consent of the parties, the evidence given at the other trials at Lecompton was admitted here. There was but little additional testimony. The case went to the jury about four o'clock on Friday night. At first they were nearly equally divided; but there were some solid men on it, and those at last brought the others in, and about six o'clock the next morning a verdict of *not guilty* was returned. Other indictments had been found against others at Lecompton, but they were discharged on the Hickory Point affair; and the other indictments not being here, the officer in command of the troops on guard refused to hold them longer, although requested to do so by the deputy marshal.

Court adjourned here late Saturday night, but it is intimated that it will sit again immediately after the adjournment of the Supreme Court, which opens at Lecompton to-day. Perhaps we shall be tried at that time, but no one can tell. We are held pretty strongly now, and stand a good chance of remaining Uncle Sam's guests until spring. Myself, and the eight others who came up with me from Lecompton, are confined in a brick cell, twelve by fourteen feet square, and ten or twelve feet high. The floor is of brick, and the light forces its way through a window about two feet square, thickly barred each way. A small stove keeps us quite comfortable. The six other prisoners are confined in a room of the same size and description, just opposite the hall. They have a cooking-stove, however, on which we do all our cooking. We trade our rations of flour to a baker, receiving bread in exchange. We fare much better than at Lecompton. Several families have offered to bake our flour for us, asking nothing for their trouble. Mr. Osborn, who keeps a Free State Hotel here, sent his little girl in yesterday morning, with a pan full of handsome, warm biscuits; and in the afternoon, his wife, with some other kind ladies, brought us some pies. The people every day bring us newspapers, books, &c., and inquire after our health and concerning our wants.

Speaking of the feeling of the people here towards us, reminds me of the fears of the Governor concerning the boys who were released on Saturday. In some way he got an idea that the people up here would not allow a sentence against the boys to be put into execution; and to prevent any difficulty about the matter—for of late he has been frightened out of his desire to multiply difficulties, for the purpose of humbling our people by pardons—he secretly sent up to several of the leading citizens, *begging* of them not to rescue the prisoners if convicted.

I have already spoken of the difficulties between Geary and Donaldson. It now appears that Titus *did*, under the Governor's order, re-arrest Hayes, the murderer of Buffum. It is now said that Hayes has sued Geary for damages, to the amount of $10,000, and that Lecompte now holds him in heavy bonds, to appear at the coming session of the Supreme Court, to answer to some patent charge which Lecompte has invented. I do not know how this can be, and therefore give it as a mere rumor, and for what it is worth. Donaldson tells me that he sent his resignation to Washington some two weeks ago, with a recommendation in favor of some one else—who, I did not learn.

Titus, with his militia, left Lecompton on Wednesday morning, for Leavenworth, where he is directed to await the orders of General Smith, who will pay them off, and disband them. The company at Lawrence will also be disbanded this or next week. Nearly all of Titus's militia will go with him to Nicaragua. He will leave St. Louis with five hundred men.

K.

NICARAGUA—TWO SIDES.

The steamship *Texas* arrived at New Orleans on the 10th, with San Juan dates to the 5th; and a telegraphic despatch was immediately sent out, announcing that Gen. Walker had been successful in a series of battles with the Central Americans: that on the 10th of November, General Hornsby, with two hundred men, at a loss to himself of only two killed and eleven wounded, defeated eleven hundred Costa Ricans, who lost two hundred; that four days' fighting at Massaya had ended in the rout of the Central Americans; that General Walker, having returned to Granada, after three days' notice, fired that place, leaving not a vestige behind—(by the way, why, if victorious, did he destroy his capital?) In fine, that the Costa Ricans had lost 3,000 men in the various battles since October.

This is one side—evidently prepared by the friends of Walker. Now for the other. The steamer Isabel, from Havana, *via* Key West, arrived at Charleston, December 13th, three days later than the Texas at New Orleans. She reports the Tennessee at Key West, from San Juan to New York—the same source from which the Texas seems to have got its news; but the Charleston telegraph reports as follows the intelligence brought by its passengers:

"The passengers' accounts from Nicaragua are very unfavorable General Walker, (just the reverse of that received last night *via* New Orleans.)

"He had been driven from every place except the Transit route, and at the last accounts his force to the number of four hundred men were at Granada, surrounded by the Costa Rican, Salvador, and Guatemala forces.

"They had fought for nine days. Walker was on board a steamer on the Lake, without the means of communicating with his army. His men were in a tight place, and suffering for want of provisions and clothing, and dying off by disease.

"It is also reported that Walker had burnt Granada and Massaya."

The fact stated in Walker's version, that he had destroyed Granada, gives countenance to this later version; for, if victorious, if he had routed all his enemies, why should he destroy Granada?

It will be observed that the Southern Convention endorsed the Walker movement; and we learn from our Southern exchanges, that reach us from the Southwestern States, that many are preparing to flock to his standard.

THE RAILROAD MURDER AT ALLIANCE.

The late railroad murder at Alliance, Ohio, inflamed the People to such a degree, that had not the engineer of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh train fled to the woods, he would have been punished on the spot.

The Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago train left Pittsburgh at 3 o'clock on the 8th, and arrived at Alliance behind time. The passengers had just got through supper, and the train had barely started, and got across the track at the junction, when the Cleveland train came dashing along with reckless speed—not less than 30 miles an hour—striking between the two hindmost cars of the Fort Wayne train, so as to throw them off the track.

"One of the cars was thrown into the rotunda at the station, and the other through the public room, which constitutes part of Scarheck's Hotel, in which several persons were sitting. The rotunda and sitting-room were both torn down, killing eight and wounding a number of persons.

"The following are the killed: Jacob Rudy, John McIntyre, and Dr. Smith and lady, all of Alliance; Mr. Attebolt and William Ritchie, of New Garden, Ohio; and John Brooks, of New Jersey.

"Most of the killed and wounded were not on the cars, but were sitting in the public room when the accident occurred."

A despatch from Pittsburgh, dated 12th instant, says:

"The coroner's inquest held upon the bodies of the persons killed by the recent disaster at Alliance, Ohio, have rendered a verdict, attributing the cause of the accident to the Cleveland train, and that John Cheny, engineer of the train, was concerned in the perpetration of the outrage. Cheny is still at large at the headquarters of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh road, but professes a willingness to give himself up, if protected from the violence of the excited people."

TROUBLES IN THE SOUTH.

We publish, on our first page, extracts from Southern papers concerning insurrectionary movements among the slaves. The first disturbance took place in Texas; a committee appointed to investigate the subject, reported that a serious conspiracy had been detected, the plan being to murder the whites, and then to escape to Mexico; and it was added, that vagabond Mexicans were the instigators.

Next followed, in quick succession, insurrectionary movements in Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, and Kentucky; and in two of our Southern exchanges we notice brief allusions to troubles in Charles county, Maryland, and in Williamsburgh, Virginia.

In Tennessee, it would seem that the demonstrations have been most formidable. From eight to ten thousand slaves, in what is called the Iron district, on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, are employed in the iron works, congregated in large masses, with only a few whites to oversee them, so that they have peculiar opportunities for concerted action.

We can find nothing very definite as to the real extent or causes of the trouble. Report has doubtless outrun the reality. Disaffection and insubordination have been observed, deep-laid conspiracy has been suspected. There are no authentic accounts of organized bands of conspirators. No acts of violence have been committed by any slaves, but extensive preparations for violence are announced. In Texas, white Mexicans, as we have mentioned, were charged with being the instigators. In Louisiana, two or three white men, citizens of the State, mere desperadoes, are the alleged mischief-makers. In Tennessee, it is said, a white man, disguised as a negro, was the ringleader.

One paper charges, that Northern Abolitionists have stirred up the insurrection by their secret emissaries, but thus far we can find no account of the arrest or trial of any person of this character. One of the editors of the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, now travelling in Tennessee, in letters to that paper, dated December 2d and 3d, gives a startling picture of the alarm of the whites, and the wild dreams of the slaves. Writing from Dover, he says:

"The mines along the shores of the Cumberland, for a distance of about thirty miles, have suspended work. Machine shops, occupying from a hundred and fifty to two hundred negroes, have now only five or six whites to direct operations. This is the case in regard to the Cumberland Iron Works, of which I spoke yesterday. In these localities, also, the panic is great. Three white free-soilers have been arrested in Dover, in the act of exciting a revolt. They were beaten, and allowed fifteen hours to leave the county, and thirty to get out of the State."

Speaking of a large iron establishment, he says:

"The energetic action of the proprietor, and the arrest of six whites who stirred up the revolt, have sufficed to suppress the commencement of an insurrection. The works go on, but they are incessantly watched. The six whites have been condemned to the penitentiary. Thirty blacks have been arrested, and await judgment.

"The credulity of these poor people is such that, in the belief of the whites who excite them, they imagine that Col. Fremont, with a large army, is waiting at the mouth of the river Cumberland until the night of the 23d or 24th of December has arrived. Then all this army will help to deliver the slaves.

"They have been struck by the sudden swelling of the river, and attribute this circumstance to the great assemblage of men and ships at its mouth. Certain slaves are so greatly imbued with this fable, that I have seen them smile when they are being whipped, and have heard them say, 'Fremont and his men can hear the blows they receive.'"

According to these statements, several white persons are implicated. Six have been condemned to the penitentiary. "Three white free-soilers" were arrested in Dover, in the act of exciting a revolt; they were beaten, and allowed fifteen hours to leave the county, thirty, the State. These statements evidently are wanting in credibility. Three free-soilers, caught in the act of exciting a bloody conspiracy, would not be let off so easily: the least they could expect would be the penitentiary. The letter-writer, no doubt, picked up mere flying reports. In the South, any white man who steals a slave, or endeavors to excite any number of them to acts of violence, although his object is plunder, is called an abolitionist or free-soiler.

In view of such data as we can obtain, we do not believe that there has been any extensively laid plan of revolt. There has been disaffection over a wide extent of country, breaking out at times into acts of insubordination, and in some places, where the slaves are congregated in large masses, assuming the aspect of insurrection. To attribute all this to emissaries from the North, or to a deeply-laid plot, matured by white ringleaders, is just as easy as to charge it upon the agitators of the Slavery Question in the free States; but where is the evidence to sustain such charges? If there be such emissaries, let their names, nativities, antecedents, and acts, be given to the world.

We repeat what we asserted last week; it is the agitation of the question of Slavery, as conducted at the South, which has been the immediate cause of these slave troubles. The *Missouri Democrat* is right. No class of population in the South is permitted to know the true state of sentiment in the free States. Southern politicians have found it convenient to charge upon the People of the free States generally the most incendiary designs, and to pronounce their disclaimers hypocritical. Especially have they arraigned the Republican Party, as enemies of the Union, enemies of the South, bent upon the forcible emancipation of slaves by fire and sword. The success of Fremont was represented by every village stump speaker in the late campaign as equivalent to a decree of abolition; and thereupon the South was called upon to prepare for a dissolution of the Union. Such, too, was the talk in private circles. Are the slaves deaf? In moments of great political excitement, are they not apt to be interested observers of what is going on? What must have been the effect upon them of such representations? Is it any wonder that the ignorant and superstitious, longing for freedom, imagined that the North was ready to strike off their fetters, and Fremont already waiting with "an army at the mouth of the Cumberland," to give them deliverance?

Did they gather such notions from Republican speeches or writings? Read the debates in the Senate. As if controlled by a monomania, the President charges a Party which has just given nearly one million four hundred thousand votes, and now controls almost all the free State Governments, with harboring purposes which look to the abolition of Slavery through fire and blood. Southern and Northern Senators follow, sustaining the charge; and the Message and the speeches go all over the South, and the Press echoes the vile accusation. Is the President, are his Senatorial champions, is the Southern Press, anxious to stir up slave-insurrection? Could they devise a more effectual way to such an end, than by impressing all classes of the population of the South, bond and free, with the conviction that emancipation by force of arms is the fixed purpose of the controlling party of the North?

Who are the incendiaries? Who is the

greater enemy to the South? Franklin Pierce, whose Message announces to its four millions of slaves that the Republican party proposes to free them through fire and blood, or John P. Hale, who pronounces him a calumniator, denies the charge, and proclaims to the South that the Republican Party, while it would exult to see all oppression come to an end, and every man free, is pledged not to interfere, by force, or act of the Federal Government, with Slavery within the States, but simply to prevent its extension into the Territories of the Union?

God help the South! and deliver it from the demagogues and deluded men who will not suffer it to understand who in the North are the real friends of the Constitution and the Union, in all sections, and of all classes of the Union.

THE SUGAR TAX.—Gen. Houston, of Texas, not long since, gave notice in the Senate of a bill to suspend the sugar tax for two years.

Mr. Colfax, Monday, in the House, introduced a bill to repeal the tax. The *Public Ledger* says:

"Sugar, which has advanced so highly in price in consequence of its scarcity, pays thirty per cent. ad valorem duty on its importation into the United States. The public, who use it, think it is about time to make it duty free, for now, the higher the price, the greater the duty. The duty operates as a tax upon the entire consumption of the article, and therefore amounts to nearly twelve millions. Sugar, if duty free, would be about 8½ cents where it is now 12, or 6¼ cents where it is now 9."

POSSIBLY A DUEL.—It was reported, last Monday, that measures were in progress for a duel between Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, and Mr. Hill, one of the Fillmore Electors of that State.

The Review.

THE RIFLE, AXE, AND SADDLE-BAGS; and other Lectures. By William Henry Milburn. With an Introduction by J. McClintock, D. D. Portrait of the author, on steel. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1857. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

Under the somewhat singular leading title above, we have presented to us a series of graphic sketches relating to the early settlement of the Western country, especially of Kentucky, where the scene is mostly laid. As the representatives of the hardy pioneer, and the perils and adventures of Indian warfare, and the sufferings endured, we have Daniel Boone, and some of his companions. A variety of incidents is given from the early traditions or annals of the State, and a very effective picture thus wrought out. In the second sketch we see the sturdy woodman, with the proud forest bowing before his advance, the progress of settlement—and here are intermingled numerous allusions and descriptions referring to the rude manners and customs of such a period, evidently drawn from life; while, as a third division, the author introduces the preachers belonging to his persuasion, including Henry Bascom, celebrated as the most eloquent of Western pulpit orators. All these sketches are attractive, and show not a little talent of popular address. Such we know to belong to Mr. Milburn, and the Introduction relates many striking particulars of his early life and subsequent history. Our readers will hardly need to be informed that he is blind, was Chaplain in Congress, and is regarded as an eloquent preacher and lecturer. Another portion of this volume, called "Songs in the Night," contains allusions to his blindness, and is interspersed with poetical extracts bearing on his subject. There are also two other divisions, embracing different pieces, one entitled "An Hour's Talk About Woman," and the last, "French Chivalry in the Southwest."

It will thus be seen that there is quite a variety of topics. The author has been very successful in producing a book fitted to engage the attention of his readers. His style is animated, sometimes much more elevated than at others, occasionally redundant, but not open to this objection so greatly as in the case of many lecturers.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A ZOUAVE BEFORE SEBASTOPOL. Edited by Dr. Felix Maynard, Ex-sanitary Physician. Translated from the French, by Mrs. M. Harrison Robinson. Philadelphia: Hayes & Zell. 1856. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

The late Russian war has been the occasion of numerous books relating to its various scenes of conflict, and the events transpiring during the long and memorable siege of the fortress of the Crimea. Many an officer has given his experience, and we have had thus published details of operations, with personal adventures. This little volume is mainly devoted to the recollections of a trumpeter belonging to the famous corps of Zouaves, formed originally, we believe, in the African expeditions of the French at Algiers, and bearing an honored place among their warriors before Sebastopol. The trumpeter is present at many attacks and engagements, and shares in the bold and daring efforts on frequent occasions in the operations there carried on, till he is wounded most severely in the shoulder, and sent to the hospital at Pera, and thence transferred to France. The whole of his own adventures, intermingled with those of his comrades, is told graphically, and just as one might suppose such a story of hair-breadth escapes and reckless adventures might be told by such a person, while there is such an honest, manly expression of the soldier, and such a grateful recognition of the care and attention received in his residence in the hospital, that he engages the reader's interest, and we do not feel, when we reach the close, as if the book was too long, but would rather not part company so soon with the entertaining narrator.

Sketches like these give a better idea of the actual appearance of the camp, and the manner in which the siege is carried on, than the official reports, which can of course do little to represent the individual and personal relations of the different corps who bore part in the great spectacle that was there acting out before the world. The dark side, and the brighter, too, of an army, are presented to us, and many a curious and sometimes comical incident drops in naturally with the lively talk of the wounded hero, whose great regret seems to be that he was not able longer to sound the charge, as he had been wont to do for the Zouaves, and to mix himself up in the heaviest part of the fight. The translation appears to be well executed, and the book is one not easily laid down, when taken up, till it is read through.

THE POETRY OF THE EAST. By William Rounseville Alger. Boston: Whittemore, Niles, & Hall. 1856. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

This is perhaps the first regular attempt in this country to lay before the public a selection from the rich treasures of Oriental poetry, by various authors. Single pieces have found their way into collections of elegant extracts, and occasionally some one has thrown off a version or imitation of an ode, or a part of a poem. In the reprints of English poets, likewise, more frequently similar attempts have been made thus to reproduce the products of Oriental imagination. But nothing like the efforts of Herder, Ruckert, and others, among the Germans, to set forth the phases of Oriental thought in their long-celebrated poetry, has ever been tried among us. We question somewhat whether we are not too much a matter-of-fact people to be attracted easily by some of these styles of Oriental poetry. They better suit the German mind. And yet we are glad to meet with such a book as the one before us. We cannot share altogether in all the enthusiasm of the author; and though we admire many of the rich gems he has chosen out for his readers, from the best poems of Hindu, Arabic, and Persian literature, we cannot quite agree, at all times, in the matchless eminence he attributes to them. There is, indeed, often in some of the Hindu selections, much Homeric simplicity and power; but however lauded may be his examples, we see none but fall very far below the Hebrew seers and bards of the inspired volume. We hardly know what the author means when he says, "Indeed, to my mind, the closing passages of the Makahbhârata, take it for all in all, is the culminating point of the poetic literature of the world." However fine is the extract which he gives, it by no means, as we feel, justifies such extravagant praise, especially if he mean to include in his sweeping term the poetry of the Bible. That the critic of the *Westminster Review* might say so, would not astonish us; but that Mr. Alger should, as it were, echo his verdict, is to us not a little surprising. The extracts in this volume, many of them, abound in beauty, and admirable sentiments are also expressed. It is pleasant to have such a repository to turn to, from which to gather choice sentences, and to numerous readers it will be a real acquisition. Especially are we gratified to have likewise the Historical Dissertation, forming the lengthened Introduction, by which Mr. Alger has brought to the knowledge of the public a variety of facts relating to the diversities and characteristics of Oriental poetry, which will be new to many. Having opened the mine, we hope he will go on, dig yet deeper, and bring forth a still more abundant supply of its golden wealth.

The volume is beautifully printed, and is full of beauties of thought and diction. We have specimens from a great number of Eastern poets, who occupy the front rank among that celebrated manifold authorship, so rich in the gorgeous imagery and lavish expenditure of expression which characterizes the products of the Eastern mind. In his preface he indicates from whom he has culled his collection of choice things.

LITTLE SONGS. By Mrs. Follen. Illustrated with above fifty pictures. Boston: Whittemore, Niles, & Hall. 1856. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

A small book for small children; published originally in *1832*—the author's object being, as she states, "to endeavor to catch something of that good-humored pleasantry which makes Mother Goose so attractive to children of all ages."

The present edition is a revised one, with an addition of two or three new songs, and also the omission of a few, contained in the former one. Some of the wood-cuts, though not of the first style of execution, are quite pretty; and though, perhaps, the songs may hardly take the place, with children, of the *Old Mother Goose Tales*, they are at least more rational as to the subject-matter, even if in this respect, too, they admit, no doubt, of further improvement.

SENATOR SEWARD.

We find in the *Union* of yesterday the subjoined article, copied from a Buffalo paper. Although the charge, whatever it is, may be unable to affect the honorable Senator at home, we think that simple justice requires that we also should copy the explanation for circulation where he is personally less known, *if not misunderstood*; for we may say that here, among all our eminent and estimable public men, there is no gentleman whose private character is more respected or regarded as more pure than that of Mr. Seward.—*National Intelligencer.*

From the Union.

Senator Seward.—As an act of simple justice to this gentleman, we cheerfully give place to the following satisfactory explanation in relation to a charge which, upon investigating, exhibits Mr. Seward in a more amiable light than he is usually seen from a Democratic stand-point of view:

From the Buffalo Express of December 6.

We derive the information, which we now use by way of explanation, from reliable authority, and give it as narrated to us in a conversation with one intimately acquainted with the facts. It appears that Governor Seward is the owner of a store in the city of Auburn which was unoccupied. He desired a tenant, and found a young man of good character, but limited means, who was desirous of establishing himself in the business of selling paints and oils. Regarding that as a safe and unexceptional traffic, Mr. Seward embarked two thousand dollars with Mr. Rhoades, in that exclusive branch of trade, as a silent partner. In drawing up the articles of copartnership, when the character of the business was to be designated, Mr. Rhoades asked that the words paints and oils might be followed by, &c. When asked why he desired this, he said that there were many articles of trade incident to the paint and oil business which are not strictly paints and oils, such as brushes, glue, and other articles, holding legitimate relation to that line of trade. This seemed but reasonable, and was acceded to. The subsequent license taken under the &c. of the articles of copartnership, in extending the trade of Mr. Rhoades to wines and liquors, we are informed, is not consistent with the views and purposes of Mr. Seward, and is a source of annoyance and vexation to him. He, being a silent partner, of course has no voice in the conduct of the business, and is forced to submit to the mortification until the term of the copartnership ceases.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT—TRIAL FOR FREEDOM.

Washington, Dec. 15.—The Supreme Court was thronged this morning by an audience comprising many distinguished jurists and members of Congress, to listen to the argument in the trial of a suit for freedom. All the judges were present.

The case of Dred Scott, plaintiff, vs. John F. Sandford, came up for argument on questions of law. The plaintiff, a man of color, brought suit to try his right of freedom. He claims to have been emancipated by his master's having taken him to reside in Illinois, which act it is declared by the Constitution of that State operated to emancipate him. The Circuit Court decided against the plaintiff, on the ground that by his return to Missouri his master's right, dormant whilst in Illinois, was revived—that the Constitution of Illinois was a penal law which the courts of other States were not bound to enforce.

The case was argued at the last session, but the decision was reserved, to allow arguments on certain points of law. Montgomery Blair appeared for the plaintiff, and Reverdy Johnson and H. S. Geyer for the complainant.

Mr. Blair opened the case by stating that nothing was said at the last session upon one question on which the Court invited argument, viz: whether a plea in abatement of the jurisdiction of the Court is raised by pleading the merits of the case. He quoted the decision of Judge Daniel, to the effect that the act of 1789 did not change the rule of common law requiring a plea in abatement. Unless the final judgment made upon that plea is named, the Court cannot take notice of the evidence when trying the case on that subject.

Mr. Blair proceeded to discuss with much ability other questions connected with the case, and, without closing, gave way for an adjournment.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM H. HURLBUT, ESQ.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

SIR: Will you allow me to terminate, at once, a personal discussion which I certainly never invited? The *Edinburgh Review* is responsible for itself, but if the character of an American citizen is to be discussed, it shall be discussed fairly.

My father, as all citizens of Charleston know, was for nearly thirty years a respectable and respected inhabitant of that city—a slaveholder himself, and connected by marriage with slaveholding families in several of the Southern States. He took a prominent part, in conjunction with his friends, the late Judge Lee and the living Mr. Petigru, in the opposition which the soundest citizens of South Carolina arrayed against the Nullification disorganizers of 1830, and his articles in defence of the Union and the Constitution, which appeared in the Charleston *Courier* at that time, over the signature of "Hamilton," are well remembered by all persons who were then familiar with South Carolina politics.

By far the largest proportion of my relations still reside at the South, and are most of them slaveholders. With my will, or without it, I must therefore be considered a South Carolinian, though I can make no claim to the character of a Slavery-extensionist, a nullifier, or a disunionist in the interest of the institution of Slavery.

I would willingly rest my title to the character of a patriotic citizen of the United States, upon the doctrines which are set forth in the article which has excited the indignation of the secessionist Senator from my own State, and upon the temper in which they are discussed.

And I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HURLBUT.

Brevoort House,
New York, Dec. 11, 1856.

P. S. It is perhaps proper for me to add, that I am not, and never have been, a clergyman. I studied theology as well as law in Cambridge, after graduating at Harvard College; but as I have neither taken orders nor been called to the bar, I do not choose to appropriate to myself the honors of either profession.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

THIRD SESSION.

Friday, December 12, 1856.

The Senate did not sit to-day.

HOUSE.

Mr. Emrie, of Ohio, was excused from further service on the Committee on Revolutionary Claims; Mr. Allen, of Illinois, from further service on the Committee on Agriculture; and Mr. Matteson, of New York, from further service on the Committee for the District of Columbia.

The Speaker thereupon appointed Mr. Allen to fill the vacancy on the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, Mr. Emrie on the Committee on Agriculture, and Mr. Woodworth, of Illinois, on the Committee for the District of Columbia, of which committee Mr. Dodd, of New York, is now chairman.

Mr. Broom, of Pennsylvania, introduced a bill to authorize the Postmaster General to contract for the transportation of the mails of the United States between New York and Southampton; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Mr. Benson, of Maine, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, made an adverse report on the memorial of the Legislative Assembly of Washington Territory, on the subject of causing an armed steamer to be stationed on the Northwest coast.

Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, from the same committee, reported Senate bill for the relief of Donn Piatt; and it was committed.

Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Territories, reported a bill for the relief of R. G. Elliott and others; which was read twice, and committed.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill making appropriations for the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial expenses of the Government, for the year ending 30th June, 1858, and a bill making appropriations for the consular and diplomatic expenses of the Government for the year ending 30th June, 1858; which were severally read twice, and committed.

Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, moved that when the House adjourn to-day, it adjourn to meet on Monday next; which motion was agreed to—yeas 126, nays 63.

On motion of Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, the House then went into Committee of the Whole on the private calendar, (Mr. Ready, of Tennessee, in the chair,) and proceeded to consider the bill to enable the United States to make use of the solar compass on the public surveys.

Considerable debate ensued, which was terminated by a motion to strike out the enacting clause of the bill; which prevailed.

The Committee then rose, and reported its action to the House.

The question being on concurring in the action of the Committee of the Whole—

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved that the bill be laid on the table; which motion was agreed to—yeas 110, nays 62.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, introduced a bill to regulate the disbursement of the contingent expenses of Congress; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Tappan, of New Hampshire, asked consent to introduce a bill to declare inoperative and void the proceedings of a body known as the Territorial Legislature of Kansas; but objection was made.

And, at three o'clock, the House adjourned.

Monday, December 15, 1856.

SENATE.

Mr. Douglas of Illinois, Mr. Johnson of Arkansas, and Mr. Weller of California, appeared in their seats this morning.

Mr. Hale submitted the following resolution, which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire whether any further legislation is necessary to carry into effect the act entitled "An act to regulate the compensation of members of Congress," approved August 16, 1856.

Mr. Jones, of Iowa, moved to proceed to the consideration of the motion, made by him on the 14th of August last, to refer the credentials of the Hon. James Harlan to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Harlan contented himself with simply reading the journal of the Legislature of Iowa, and stating the points of law that bore on the case, to the Senate. He expressed his perfect willingness to refer the whole subject to the Committee on the Judiciary, as having the most perfect confidence in the honor, integrity, and legal knowledge of that committee, although all the members composing it were politically opposed to him. It was so referred.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being the bill to provide for the settlement of the claims of the officers of the Revolutionary army and the widows and orphan children of those who died in the service.

Mr. Evans briefly advocated the bill, and then sent his very able report to the Secretary's desk to be read, as explanatory, and embracing fully all the points bearing on the subject.

Mr. Seward also advocated the bill on its merits, with all his usual zeal and earnestness, and read some letters of deep interest from lineal descendants of heroes who figured in the memorable struggle of the Revolution, to show the propriety as well as urgency of its passage.

Amendments were offered, which led to debate, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

Mr. Colfax, of Indiana, gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill to repeal the duty on sugar.

Mr. Etheridge, of Tennessee, asked consent to submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That this House of Representatives regards all suggestions and propositions of every kind, by whomsoever made, for a revival of the African slave trade, as shocking to the moral sentiment of the enlightened portion of mankind; and that any action on the part of Congress conniving at or legalizing that horrid and inhuman traffic, would justly subject the Government and citizens of the United States to the reproach and execration of all civilized and Christian people throughout the world.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, objected to the resolution.

Mr. Etheridge moved a suspension of the rules.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, asked his colleague to modify his resolution, so as to omit from it his speech. He would say to his colleague——

Loud cries of "order!" "order!"

The Speaker. The gentleman from Tennessee is not in order.

Mr. Jones. I will not be gagged either by my colleague or the Speaker. I am as much opposed to the reopening of the African slave trade as my colleague, or any other man, but not for his reasons and arguments.

Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, stated that if the rules should be suspended, and an opportunity should offer, he would submit the following as a substitute for the resolution of the gentleman from Tennessee:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to repeal the laws prohibiting the African slave trade.

The yeas and nays having been ordered on the motion to suspend the rules, various members, when their names were called, explained their votes, as follows:

Mr. Cobb, of Alabama, stated that he should vote for the motion to suspend, for the purpose of allowing the gentleman from South Carolina an opportunity to offer his proposition.

Mr. Puryear, of North Carolina, remarked that he was as much opposed to the reopening of the African slave trade as any member of the House; but, believing that the resolution was out of place and ill-timed, he should vote against it.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, deemed the revival of the slave trade inexpedient, but thought that the resolution before the House deserved the condemnation of the body.

Mr. Zollicoffer, of Tennessee, was decidedly opposed to the reopening of the slave trade, but, as he did not believe that any good could result from the resolution, he should vote against the motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. Phelps, of Missouri, was also opposed to the re-establishment of the slave trade, but the message of the Governor of South Carolina was not before the House, and he should cast his vote in the negative.

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, was as much opposed to the reopening of the African slave trade as any man; but, believing that he fully understood the object of the gentleman who proposed the resolution, he should vote no.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, then gave notice that he should object to any further explanations.

Mr. Berksdale, of Mississippi, stated, that whilst he was not in favor of reopening the African slave trade, and whilst he did not believe that any gentleman on his side of the House was in favor of reviving it, yet he regarded the resolution of the gentleman from Tennessee as ill-timed, out of place——

Loud cries of "order!" "order!" here interrupted the member, and rendered his voice inaudible.

Mr. Greenwood, of Arkansas, stated that, so far as he was advised, there was not a gentleman upon the Democratic side of the House who was in favor of re-opening the African slave trade, but he should vote against a suspension of the rules.

Messrs. Keitt of South Carolina, Garnett of Virginia, and Kelly of New York, stated that, had they been within the bar of the House when their names were called, they would have voted against the motion to suspend the rules.

The vote on the motion to suspend the rules was then announced to be as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Akers, Albright, Allen, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of New York, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bocock, Bradshaw, Brenton, Broom, Buffinton, Burlingame, Cadwalader, Campbell of Penn., Campbell of Ohio, Chaffee, Clarke of New York, Clark of Connecticut, Cobb of Alabama, Colfax, Comins, Cragin, Cumback, Davis of Illinois, Davis of Massachusetts, Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie Edwards, Emrie, English, Etheridge, Faulkner, Flagler, Foster, Fuller of Maine, Galloway, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Iowa, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Harrison, Haven, Hickman, Hodges, Hoffman, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, Kennett, Kidwell, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Letcher, Mace, Marshall of Kentucky, Marshall of Illinois, Matteson, McCarty, Miller of New York, Millson, Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Morrison, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Norton, Oliver of New York, Paine, Parker, Pearce, Peck, Pelton, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Ready, Ricaud, Ritchie, Rivers, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Swope, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Vail, Valk, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Welch, Wells, Whitney, Williams, Wood, Woodruff, and Woodworth—140.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Barksdale, Bennett of Miss., Branch, Brooks, Burnett, Campbell of Kentucky, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cox, Crawford, Cullen, Dowdell, Edmundson, Eustis, Evans, Goode, Greenwood, Harris of Alabama, Herbert, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, Jones of Pennsylvania, Lake, Lumpkin, Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Indiana, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Phelps, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ruffin, Savage, Shorter, Smith of Virginia, Smith of Alabama, Sneed, Stephens, Talbott, Taylor, Walker, Warner, Wheeler, Winslow, Wright of Mississippi, Wright of Tennessee, and Zollicoffer—53.

The motion to suspend the rules having been agreed to—

Mr. Etheridge submitted his resolution, and upon its adoption demanded the previous question.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, wished to inquire of his colleague if he desired to have an expression on the part of the House against the reopening of the African slave trade; or if he desired to have it in such a way as to make it offensive to his own section of the country?

The Speaker ruled all debate out of order.

The previous question was then seconded—yeas 113, nays 77; and the main question ordered to be put—yeas 125, nays 84.

Mr. McQueen, of South Carolina, moved to lay the resolution on the table; which motion did not prevail—yeas 71, nays 137.

The question was then stated to be on the adoption of the resolution, when the yeas and nays were demanded and ordered.

Mr. Millson, of Virginia, asked to be excused from voting.

The Clerk then proceeded to call the roll, and upon this question, as upon the motion to suspend the rules, explanations were made by various members as their names were called.

Mr. Eustis said he should vote against the resolution, not because he was in favor of reviving the slave trade, for he believed there was but one opinion on that subject, but because he looked upon the resolution as uncalled for, unwarranted, and full of sound, signifying nothing.

Mr. Florence, of Pennsylvania, amid loud cries of order, stated there was not enough cheese upon this "figure-four," beautifully gilded as the bait on the trap was, to catch him; so he should vote no.

Mr. Harris, of Illinois, in voting for the resolution, explained that he voted for all that part of it which denounced the opening of the slave trade, but not that part which denounced the opinions of other men.

Mr. McMullin, of Virginia, asked to be excused. Request granted.

Messrs. Oliver of Missouri, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, and Wright of Tennessee, severally explained, in voting against the resolution, that they were opposed to the revival of the slave trade.

Mr. Sneed, of Tennessee, remarked, that on this stump speech he should vote no.

Mr. Cadwalader, of Pennsylvania, asked leave to explain his vote, but objection was made.

The vote was then announced to be as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Akers, Albright, Allen, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of New York, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Broom, Buffinton, Burlingame, Cadwalader, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Campbell of Ohio, Chaffee, Clark of N. York, Clark of Connecticut, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Cox, Cragin, Cullen, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Illinois, Davis of Massachusetts, Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, English, Etheridge, Flagler, Fuller of Maine, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Iowa, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Harris of Illinois, Harrison, Haven, Hickman, Hodges, Hoffman, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Jones of Pennsylvania, Kelly, Kelsey, Kennett, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Mace, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky, H. Marshall of Kentucky, Marshall of Illinois, Matteson, McCarty, Miller of New York, Miller of Indiana, Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Morrison, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Norton, Oliver of New York, Packer, Paine, Parker, Pearce, Peck, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Porter, Pringle, Purviance, Puryear, Ready, Ricaud, Ritchie, Rivers, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Smith of Alabama, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Swope, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Tyson, Underwood, Vail, Valk, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Welch, Wells, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth, and Zollicoffer—152.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Barksdale, Bennett of Mississippi, Bocock, Boyce, Brooke, Burnett, Campbell of Kentucky, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Alabama, Crawford, Davidson, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, Eustis, Evans, Florence, Foster, Garnett, Goode, Greenwood, Harris of Alabama, Herbert, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, Keitt, Lake, Letcher, Lumpkin, Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Phelps, Powell, Quitman, Ruffin, Savage, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Sneed, Stephens, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Walker, Warner, Winslow, Wright of Mississippi, and Wright of Tennessee—57.

Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, asked consent to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient, unwise, and contrary to the settled policy of the United States, to repeal the laws prohibiting the African slave trade.

Mr. Orr moved a suspension of the rules; which motion was agreed to—yeas 181, nays 10.

Mr. Orr then submitted his resolution, and upon its adoption demanded the previous question.

Mr. Quitman, of Mississippi, hoped that the gentleman would withdraw the demand for the previous question, so that he might be able to move to amend it. He was understood to say that he was in favor of the resolution, excepting the words "contrary to the settled policy of the Government." He did not wish to express an opinion as to its settled policy.

Mr. Orr thought that the resolution was in the best shape in which it could be placed, and he therefore declined to withdraw the demand for the previous question.

The previous question was then seconded—yeas 90, nays 73; and under the operation thereof the resolution was adopted—yeas 183, nays as follows:

Messrs. Barksdale, Bennett of Mississippi, Brooks, Keitt, Quitman, Shorter, Walker, and Wright of Mississippi—8.

The Speaker then proceeded to call the States for resolutions, when

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, submitted the following:

Resolved, That the President be requested to cause to be communicated to this House statements of the amounts of money paid and liabilities incurred, for the pay, support, and other expenses of persons called into the service of the United States in the Territory of Kansas, either under the designation of the militia of Kansas, or of posses summoned by the civil officers in that Territory, since the date of its establishment; also, statements of the amounts paid to marshals, sheriffs, and their deputies, and to witnesses, and for other expenses in the arrest, detention and trial of persons charged in said Territory with treason against the United States, or with violations of the so-called laws of said Territory.

Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, objected to the consideration of the resolution, the rule requiring that resolutions calling for information shall lie over one day.

Mr. Washburn moved to suspend the said rule; pending which, at three o'clock, the House adjourned.

FOREIGN.

By the Atlantic, from Liverpool, to the 25th ult.

The *London Post* says:

"There is one question which must have occurred to these advocates of a revived slave trade, and to which we would invite their serious attention. Have they made sure of the consent of England, in the event of their obtaining a majority in Congress to repeal the law of 1820? Let not the men of the South deceive themselves upon this point. England will never consent to the revival of the slave trade. We believe that France is equally in earnest in this matter."

In Spain, Marshal Narvaez's position and influence are entirely re-established. It is thought that an arrangement with the Holy See, concerning the church property, already sold, will be come to. The Russian Ambassador was expected daily.

Malaga was quiet. Twenty of the rioters in the late outbreak were killed or taken prisoners. The troops had twelve men put *hors du combat.* The disturbance took place on the night of November 12.

Naples.—The Neapolitan question is without change. It is stated that Sir Hamilton Seymour had said in Vienna that the British Government would do nothing in the matter that would encourage revolutionary purposes or movements.

Intelligence from Naples represented the King as entering upon a course of clemency, and it was expected that "an amnesty will follow those special acts of grace that have already been granted." But it is added, that the amnesty will only be granted to those who will leave the Kingdom forever, or will allow themselves to be put under the supervision of the police.

Mr. Cobden has written a letter to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in relation to Mr. Marcy's proposal in regard to privateers, of which he says:

"Now, really, there is no logical way of meeting this proposition but by an instant acquiescence; and, had it not been misrepresented and dealt with in a flippant spirit by some of our journals, it must have received as unanimous an assent in this country as it has from all parties in the United States."

He concludes as follows:

"It is then our interest especially, and beyond all other countries, to go forward in the path to which the Americans have invited us.

"I cannot help regretting, as an Englishman, that the proposal did not originate with us. But the next best thing will be to give it a prompt and hearty acceptance, and aid in securing for it, if possible, a world-wide acquiescence. It is impossible to foresee all the consequences of such a revolution in the rules of war. It is, I believe, the first time in the annals of the world that the powers of belligerents will be restrained and defined in the interest of individuals by written international law. Who can tell in what other direction the precedent may be followed? Wars will henceforth partake more of the character of duels between Governments than of the old contests of nations. Private citizens will cease to be held responsible, or liable to injury, unless they become participators in the strife. There will no longer be plunder and prize-money to add the stimulus of cupidity to the passions of hatred and revenge; and we shall have one pretence less for constantly increasing the burden of war-navies in proportion to the growth of foreign commerce, on the plea of protecting our mercantile marine. These are some of the obvious consequences of this proposed innovation upon the traditions and precedents of the last century. The mercantile world will, I trust, allow its voice to be heard upon the question by Government and Parliament; and it is in the hope that the Chamber will throw the weight of its great influence into the scale of humanity and progressive civilization, that I have ventured to trouble you with this letter.

"I remain, very truly, yours,
"RICHARD COBDEN.

"*Thomas Bazley, Esq., President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.*"

CATCHING WHALES BY STEAM.—In Scotland, it is proposed to fit out steamers instead of ships to engage in the whale trade. The Philadelphia *Ledger*, in speaking of this fact, says:

"It is but three or four years since the bomb has been in use. This saves much trouble and many lives. After the harpoons and lines are once attached to him, the whale is fatally wounded, if not literally blown to pieces, by the explosion of gunpowder in the deep wound made by the lance. Now it is proposed to employ steam in the pursuit, which will doubtless pay largely, as so much more of the surface of the ocean can be scoured in quest of them, and when once perceived, they will rarely escape."

OBITUARY.

DIED at his residence near Rensselaer, Ind., on the 7th of December, 1856, JOHN D. WORK, aged 62 years lacking 7 days. Col. Work was born in Washington county, Pa. In early manhood, he was engaged in mercantile pursuits; was once associated in business in the city of Baltimore with Mr. Robert Garret, now one of the millionaires of that city. Subsequently, he settled in Franklin county, Pa., which county he twice represented in the Legislature, giving at one time what may be called the casting vote for James Buchanan for U. S. Senator.

He emigrated to Jasper county, Ind., some twelve years since, during most of which time he has been a most decided and earnest opponent of Slavery-extension, abandoning the Democratic party (to which he had always been ardently attached) on the nomination of Gen. Cass on his Nicholson letter.

In the death of Col. Work, society has lost an upright citizen, and the cause of Freedom a firm friend.
B. H.

Rensselaer, Ind., Dec. 10, 1856.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

LATER FROM CALIFORNIA AND NICARAGUA.—*New Orleans, Dec.* 10.—The steamship Texas, from San Juan, 5th inst., has arrived, bringing California advices to the 20th of November, two weeks later than previous accounts.

The vote of California was as follows, in round numbers: Buchanan 60,000, Fillmore 35,000, Fremont 19,000.

The Democrats have a majority in both branches of the Legislature. There is no other news of interest from California. The markets were dull.

The news from Nicaragua is, that President Walker had met with success in a series of battles with the combined Central Americans.

On the 10th of November, Gen. Hornsby, with 200 men, defeated 1,100 of the enemy, under the Costa Rican General, Canas. The enemy lost two hundred, while Hornsby's loss was two killed and eleven wounded.

Four days' fighting at Massaya ended in the entire defeat of the enemy.

Walker returned to Granada, and, after giving notice of his intention, to allow time to remove valuables, fired the city, leaving not a vestige of the place. All the effects of his men and of the inhabitants were removed to Rivas, which is hereafter to be the capital of Nicaragua.

A naval battle had occurred between the Nicaraguan war schooner Granada and a Costa Rican brig of war three times her size. The Costa Rican vessel was blown up, and every one on board perished.

It is supposed that the enemy's loss was 3,000 in the various battles since October.

Boston, Dec. 9.—At the municipal election at Roxbury, yesterday, John S. Sleeper, the present incumbent, was elected Mayor by a plurality of 263 over John C. Clerk, the candidate of the opposition.

In Charlestown, T. Sawyer, the present incumbent, received 1,347 votes, to 498 for Geo. W. Warren, the candidate of those opposed to the present Government.

Lowell, Dec. 8.—Stephen Mausar, American Republican, was elected Mayor to-day.

Worcester, Dec. 8.—George W. Richardson, Republican, was elected Mayor of this city to-day.

Newburyport, Dec. 8.—Our municipal election to-day was warmly contested, and more votes were polled than at the Presidential election. William Cushing, the present Mayor, was re-elected, receiving 1,100 votes against 843 for Daniel Pike.

Bridgeport, Conn., Dec. 8.—The Republican ticket for town officers has been elected, with two exceptions.

Columbia, South Carolina, Dec. 9.—In the South Carolina Legislature, to-day, Hon. A. F. W. Alston was elected Governor of the State on the first ballot, and Hon. G. Cannon Lieutenant Governor.

COUNTERFEIT NOTES.—It is stated that counterfeit $20 notes, on the Bank of the Valley, payable at Staunton, are in circulation in various parts of Virginia. They may be distinguished by the imperfection of the likeness of Fillmore, and the words, "Bank of the Valley," which are shaded. In the genuine notes these words are plain. The names of the officers are well executed.

THE OHIO RIVER.—The fine steamer J. H. Done arrived at Wheeling on Tuesday night, from Cincinnati, with a full freight, after a short and smooth passage. Her officers state that the ice is not sufficiently heavy to be an obstruction. There were six feet of water in the river at Wheeling on Tuesday evening, and business was brisk.

NORTH CAROLINA.—The free suffrage bill has passed both branches of the North Carolina Legislature, but it has yet to be ratified by the people in August next.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Gov. Metcalf, who has served for two years, is not to be a candidate for re-election for Governor in New Hampshire at the next March election, and the Republicans generally fix upon Ichabod Goodwin, of Portsmouth, as his successor, though other prominent men are mentioned. Rev. Mr. Pike has announced that he will not be again a candidate for Congress in the first district, and Geo. Marston, of Exeter, will be likely to take his place on the Republican ticket. The Democrats have re-nominated Dr. Kittredge. The Free-Soilers are to have a State Convention at Concord on the 8th of January next, to nominate Governor, Railroad Commissioner, and Representatives to Congress.

STORM ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER.—*Cincinnati, Dec.* 10.—During a heavy storm on the Lower Mississippi, on Tuesday night last, a wharf boat at Hickman, Ky., was sunk, and several steamers slightly damaged.

The steamer Cuba, at Smithland, while a heavy gale was blowing, was struck by the Nat Holmes, and sunk. The owners of the former claim $21,000 damages.

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, December 16, 1856.

Flour, Howard Street	$6.62½ @ 0.00
Flour, City Mills	6.50 @ 0.00
Rye Flour	0.00 @ 5.12
Corn Meal	3.00 @ 3.37
Wheat, white	1.50 @ 1.55
Wheat, red	1.47 @ 1.49
Corn, white	50 @ 65
Corn, yellow	57 @ 65
Rye, Pennsylvania	80 @ 00
Rye, Virginia	70 @ 00
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	40 @ 43
Oats, Pennsylvania	00 @ 00
Clover Seed	0.00 @ 7.62
Timothy Seed	3.25 @ 3.50
Hay, Timothy	15.00 @20.00
Hops	7 @ 14
Potatoes, Mercer	70 @ 75
Bacon, Shoulders	7 @ 7½
Bacon, Sides	8¾ @ 9¼
Bacon, Hams	9½ @ 11
Pork, Mess	17.87 @19.75
Pork, Prime	18.00 @00.00
Beef, Mess	15.00 @16.00
Lard, in barrels	12¼ @ 12½
Lard, in kegs	12¾ @ 13¼
Wool, Unwashed	24 @ 26
Wool, Washed	33 @ 36
Wool, Pulled	28 @ 32
Wool, Fleece, common	35 @ 35
Wool, Fleece, fine	50 @ 50
Wool, Choice Merino	50 @ 55
Butter, Western, in kegs	14 @ 15
Butter, Roll	20 @ 23
Cheese	10½ @ 11
Coffee, Rio	9½ @ 11
Coffee, Java	15 @ 14½

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, December 16, 1856.

Flour, State brands	$6.25 @ 6.45
Flour, State brands, extra	6.55 @ 6.85
Flour, Western	6.85 @ 7.05
Flour, Southern	6.95 @ 7.25
Rye Flour	3.50 @ 5.12
Corn Meal	3.37 @ 0.00
Wheat, white	1.70 @ 0.00
Wheat, red	1.56 @ 1.57
Corn, white	73 @ 73½
Corn, yellow	72 @ 75
Rye	88 @ 89
Oats	47 @ 48
Clover Seed	11.00 @12.00
Timothy Seed	3.00 @ 3.25
Hay	65 @ 70
Hops	8 @ 11
Bacon, Shoulders	7½ @ 7⅝
Bacon, Sides	9½ @ 0
Bacon, Hams	9¾ @ 10¼
Pork, Mess	19.00 @19.62
Pork, Prime	17.00 @17.50
Beef	9.00 @11.00
Lard, in barrels	12⅝ @ 12⅞
Lard, in kegs	00 @ 00
Butter, Western	16 @ 22
Butter, State	20 @ 24
Cheese	8½ @ 10½
Coffee, Rio	8¾ @ 11¾
Coffee, Java	13¾ @ 14¾
Wool, Unwashed	00 @ 00
Wool, Washed	45 @ 00
Wool, Pulled	33 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	36 @ 52
Iron, Scotch, Pig	29.50 @30.00
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TO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS.

A GENTLEMAN in the prime of life, nearly twenty years of which have found him associated with the newspaper press, in every department of which he has had experience, wants to become connected with a Republican Journal, either as sole or joint editor and proprietor. He refers to the Editor of the *Era*, whom respondents will please address. 516

THE NATIONAL ERA.

Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

PROSPECTUS OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME, BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1857.

The *National Era* is a Political and a Literary and Family Newspaper, the organ of no party, but holding itself entirely free to approve or condemn, support or oppose, whatever may accord or conflict with its oft-avowed principles. Adopting the language of the Bill of Rights, unanimously agreed upon by the Virginia Convention of June 12, 1776, and prefixed to the amended Constitution of Virginia, in 1830, it holds—

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"That elections of members to serve as representatives of the people in assembly ought to be free;

"That all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property, for public uses, without their own consent or that of their representative so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented, for the public good;

"That the Freedom of the Press is one of the great bulwarks of Liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic Governments;

"That no free Government or the blessing of Liberty can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

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TO THE RADICAL ABOLITIONISTS OF ILLINOIS.

At the State Radical Abolition Convention, held at Joliet, July 31st, 1856, the undersigned were chosen a State Executive Committee, and authorized to call future State Conventions.

We therefore recommend that the Radical Abolitionists, and all other true friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in Illinois, meet in Mass State Convention at OTTAWA, on the 7th day of January, 1857, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to consider what further duties we owe to four millions of our brethren in bonds, and to a nation of freemen who have again bowed their necks in willing subjection to the demands of the Slave Power. Among the subjects that will come before the Convention, will be the organization of a State Abolition Society, and the establishment of a weekly Abolition paper in Illinois.

GEORGE W. BASSETT,
MOSES RUMERY,
H. O. WAGONER,
H. H. HINMAN,
State Executive Committee.

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Cambridge, Mass., December, 1856. 520

The Novel.

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[CONTINUED FROM THE FIRST PAGE.]

union with the South, will have it in their power for ages to come to perpetuate a Union that must otherwise be destroyed.

I can well understand, therefore, why the honorable Senator says, as a matter of gratulation to those who think with him, that this is the last message which is to emanate from its source. I should hope that the truths which emanate from that paper will reach the Northern mind, and that they will unite, in a common, patriotic interest and purpose, to come back to the Constitution which our fathers framed, and to which we are parties—to come back to that Constitution, and to administer it legitimately, and give to the South what the South is entitled to, while the North and West obtain what they are entitled to. Or if it be that they really entertain an honest and conscientious conviction that they cannot remain in union with us, let them propose a separation fairly and openly; but while the contract is there, keep it. I hold the most essential part of that contract to the South, now falling into a minority, to be, that it shall be kept toward the minority, in honorable faith, and that every element of political power it guarantied to them shall be fairly and honorably conceded.

Now, sir, I have said not one word of disrespect, or of discourtesy, toward the party which has been arrayed against the South in the late election. I do not mean to do so; it would not become me. They constitute a part of the American people, with whom we are in bonds of association, and I have no right to question their motives. I do not question them; but I do question their political purposes. I say that, when the passions of the day have subsided, this country, and the world looking on, will pay a tribute of just applause to the eminent author of this message, and to the great principles which he has there propounded.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. PRESIDENT: If I supposed that this message was aimed simply at a few Abolitionists in the North, who wish, as it is said, to interfere with the existing institution of Slavery, I certainly should not give it any of my attention. Not only the President, but Senators here, may abuse the Abolitionists as roundly as they please, and they will never find me defending them on any occasion. But this document, emanating from the Chief Magistrate of the nation, here on the first days of the session, has thrust upon us the Slavery question, the agitation of which the Senator from Virginia seems to deprecate. He speaks of Senators agitating this question. Could he expect otherwise than that Senators would agitate the question which the President of the United States makes the prominent and leading question of his message? Did he expect that we should sit still here, when a message was read professing to give a historical account of the recent canvass and the recent election, which misrepresented them totally? I shall not go into an argument to prove here that the great party which has swept the North, and I say has swept the States which the gentleman has designated as having sustained Mr. Buchanan, entertain no views hostile to the Union or the Constitution, or that they do not wish to interfere with Slavery in any of the States of this Union. They adopted a platform; they inscribed upon it their principles; they published it to the world, and every man can read it. A part of that platform is, that the rights of the States, the Union of the States, and the Constitution of the country, must and shall be preserved. That is our creed. Will you tell us that we want to interfere with the rights of the States? You impute to us that which we have solemnly declared we are opposed to.

I think it is just such remarks as those to which we have now listened from the Senator from Mississippi, that are alienating one section of this Union from the other. He is arguing here to show that the Northern sentiment wishes to interfere with the institutions of the South. Does the Senator desire that state of things? Why does he seek to fasten on us sentiments and opinions which we disclaim and disavow? He asks why we did not disavow this at the time in the North? We did it at the outset; we did it everywhere, and on all occasions.

But, sir, this message—and I shall not now take time to discuss its various positions—contains the most unwarranted assumptions as to fact, and it states conclusions of law not sustained by the authorities. The President of the United States undertakes to say that the Missouri Compromise, the act of 1820, under which Missouri came into the Union, was obsolete and was unconstitutional. Where did he get the authority for saying so? The Supreme Court of the United States has said, in so many words, that in regard to the Territories of the United States, Congress possesses all the powers both of the Federal and State Governments as to a State. That is the language of the Supreme Court of the United States. Is it denied by anybody that the Federal and State Governments together have authority to keep Slavery out of a State?

Mr. CASS. I should like to hear that decision read. I never saw it.

Mr. TRUMBULL. It is in the first volume of Peters's Reports. I desire the pages to bring it to me from the Library. Never has it been said by the Supreme Court—no such decision can be found—that Congress had not authority to exclude Slavery from the Territories. I have now the book for which I sent. I do not know, however, that I shall be able to turn to the decision at once. I ask my friend from Connecticut [Mr. FOSTER] to oblige me by looking for it. When it is found, I shall furnish it to the Senator from Michigan, and shall be very glad to have him read and ponder on it; I hope it will convince him.

Much of the President's message is taken up with a discussion as to the equality of the States, and the rights of the States. The Senator from New Hampshire has well exposed this portion of the message, in commenting on that part of it which professes to set forth what was settled by the recent election. The President says: "The 'people of the United States have asserted the 'constitutional equality of each and all of the 'States of the Union, as States."

Did anybody dispute it? The message proceeds to say: "They have affirmed the constitu'tional equality of each and all of the citizens of 'the United States, as citizens—[Who ever dis'puted it? Was any such question in issue 'before the American people?]—whatever their 'religion, wherever their birth or their residence, 'they have maintained the inviolability of the 'constitutional rights of the different sections 'of the Union—[Who proposed to interfere with 'them?]—and they have proclaimed their devo'ted and unalterable attachment to the Union 'and to the Constitution—[I trust they have]—'as objects of interest superior to all subjects of 'local or sectional controversy, as the safeguard 'of the rights of all, as the spirit and the essence 'of the liberty, peace, and greatness of the Re'public."

The President makes the same charge here, which is reiterated in the Senate, that "Under 'the shelter of this great liberty, and protected 'by the laws and usages of the Government they 'assailed, associations have been formed in some 'of the States, of individuals who, pretending to 'seek only to prevent the spread of the institution 'of Slavery into the present or future inchoate 'States of the Union, are really inflamed with a 'desire to change the domestic institutions of 'existing States."

How did he find that out? Where is the evidence of it? Sir, I assert that, so far as I know, there is no foundation for the accusation. It is untrue.

My friend from Connecticut has found the decision to which I made allusion. In the case of the American Insurance Company and others *vs.* Canter, 1st Peters, p. 546, the opinion of the Supreme Court was pronounced by Mr. Chief Justice Marshall. In that opinion is this sentence in regard to the Territories: "In legislating for 'them, Congress exercises the combined powers 'of the General and of a State Government." I commend it and the whole case to the careful examination of my distinguished friend from Michigan.

Mr. CASS. The honorable Senator will perceive that it asserts no power. It does not say how the Constitution limits their action.

Mr. TRUMBULL. It does not assert any power, further than this: it says expressly that, as to a Territory, Congress exercises the combined powers of the General and of a State Government. If Congress has the combined powers of the General Government and of a State Government, in regard to Territory, I ask if it has not power sufficient to keep Slavery out of a Territory?

Mr. CASS. No; unless the Constitution gives it. The power that is exercised must be a power within the Constitution, or there is no authority for it.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Let us follow that up. There is no such escape for the distinguished Senator. There is no quibbling in this opinion about "under the Constitution." The declaration is broad and unqualified, that in regard to a Territory Congress exercises all the powers both of the General and of a State Government. Now, the Senator tells me, that even that being so, you cannot under the Constitution prevent Slavery. Will he deny the right of the State of Michigan to keep Slavery out of her limits? According to the decision of Chief Justice Marshall, all the power which the State of Michigan has in regard to its own citizens is possessed by Congress in regard to the Territories of the United States; and if the State of Michigan can exclude Slavery from its borders, then, if the Supreme Court of the United States be any authority, Congress can exclude it from one of the National Territories, because it possesses in a Territory all the power which a State possesses over its inhabitants, and possesses also the power which the Federal Government exercises over the States. When it is said that Congress cannot exercise this power unless the Constitution gives it, that is begging the question. The decision of the Court, the language of the Judge, is, that Congress has the power. He could not say that, if the Constitution did not give it. If the Constitution denied the power, how could the Judge say that Congress possessed it? He had the Constitution in view when writing this opinion. Sir, the doctrine now advanced is a new and modern discovery. Congress formerly possessed and exercised this power, and nobody doubted it. For the first fifty years of the Government, the power was undisputed. It is a new discovery that Congress does not now possess it.

But, sir, let me resume the consideration of the message. The President tells us that "It was imputed" that the measure of which he is speaking, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, "originated in the conception of extending the 'limits of slave labor beyond those previously as'signed to it; and that such was its natural as 'well as intended effect; and these *baseless assump'tions* were made in the Northern States the ground 'of unceasing assault upon constitutional right." Here the President informs us that the charge made against those who repealed the Missouri Compromise, that it was intended or conceived with the purpose of extending the limits of Slavery beyond those previously assigned to it, was a baseless assumption.

Now, what does the Senator from Virginia tell us? He says that under the Constitution the South has a right to a legitimate expansion of Slavery, and it is the right to expand the institution upon which he insists. When we charge that the design was to extend Slavery into the free Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the President says it is a baseless assumption. The Senator from Virginia informs us that he insists on the right to the expansion of Slavery. Who is right? He tells us, further, that the people in four of the Northern States united in keeping out of power that party which would have severed the Union into fragments. How would they have severed it into fragments, I should like to know? Did they propose to dissolve it? Did they propose to encroach on the rights of the States? They declared that the rights of the States should be preserved. How were they going to dissolve the Union? Was it in any other way than this: It has been stated here, to-day, in the Senate, that if Colonel Fremont were elected, the Union must be and ought to be dissolved! Because a particular man is elected President of the United States, is that any reason for dissolving the Union?

Mr. MASON. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. TRUMBULL. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. What I said was this: that if that party came into power avowing the purposes which they did avow, it would necessarily result in a dissolution of the Union, whether they desired it or not. It was utterly immaterial who was their President; he might have been a man of straw; I alluded to the purposes of the party. What I said in the letter to which one of the Senators has alluded, and what I said substantially in the remarks which I have made in this debate, was merely that if the party came into power avowing the purposes which they avowed, and prepared to execute them, it would necessarily result in a dissolution of the Union, and then, so far as the South was concerned, it should be immediate and eternal.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I wish to examine that position. It is this—I will endeavor to state it in the language of the Senator—that if the Republican party came into power with the principles which they avowed, it would necessarily result in the dissolution of the Union, and that, so far as he and the South were concerned, it should be immediate and eternal. Now, what principles did we avow? Is there any one hostile to the South? I say we avow no principle upon this subject about which we are now speaking, except those avowed by Thomas Jefferson himself, by Washington, and by Monroe. Is it any cause for a dissolution of the Union, that a particular man is elected President? Manifestly not; and the Senator from Virginia does not contend for that.

Mr. RUSK. Will the Senator from Illinois allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. TRUMBULL. Certainly.

Mr. RUSK. He and others have attributed the sentiment on which he is now commenting so eloquently, to the Southern States. I desire to ask him if he does not know that it had its origin in the Northern States with one of the candidates for the Presidency? Did he not first make the declaration that the event alluded to would dissolve the Union?

Mr. TRUMBULL. I am not the defender of any third party, whose candidate may have made declarations as to the dissolution of the Union. I say that the great Fremont party entertain and avow no such sentiment.

Mr. RUSK. The Senator misunderstands me. I do not ask him to defend Mr. Fillmore; but I ask him to make the charge, not against the South, but against the individual who committed the offence.

Mr. HALE and Mr. SEWARD. That is fair.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I do not care who makes the charge that the election of Colonel Fremont to the Presidency would dissolve the Union. I say it is a baseless charge; and manifestly it could not prevail, come from what party it may. The Senator from Virginia does not put himself now on the fact of any particular man being elected, but on the principles avowed. To that I will pay attention in a moment; but I wish first to dispose of the clamor which has been raised in some parts of the country, that the election of a particular man is a cause for a dissolution of the Union.

Why, sir, neither Colonel Fremont nor any other person can be elected President of the United States except in the constitutional mode; and if any individual is elected President in the mode prescribed by the Constitution, is that cause for a dissolution of the Union? Assuredly not. If it be, the Constitution contains within itself the elements of its own destruction. The great principle lying at the bottom of the institutions of the country, and of the Constitution itself, is, that we must acquiesce in the decision of the majority, constitutionally expressed, in the selection of officers; and until the person elected does some overt act violating the Constitution, until he sets on foot some measure destructive of the Government, the fact that he is elected President in the constitutional mode affords no reason whatever for the dissolution of the Union. Then would there have been any reason for its dissolution, if the Republican party had succeeded with its avowed sentiments?

Now, what were its avowed sentiments on the subject of Slavery? Opposition to its extension; opposition to the spread of Slavery into the Territories, and a declaration of the right of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories of the United States. Is that a cause for a dissolution of this Union? I know that the Senator has said that it matters not to him whether the interference is with Slavery outside of the States or within the States; but I think the cases are very different. I think we have no right, and that there is no intention, on the part of the great body of the people of the North, to interfere with Slavery in the States; but I think there is an intention to prevent its extension outside of States into free Territories; and there is a very great difference between these positions.

Well, sir, if the prevalence of these opinions be a cause for a dissolution of the Union, which should be immediate and eternal, why, I ask, was not this Government dissolved the year of its formation? How did it happen that the very first Congress which ever met under the Constitution of the United States adopted and reaffirmed that ordinance excluding Slavery from the whole Northwest? Why was not the Union then dissolved? If it is a cause in 1856 for a dissolution of the Union to exclude Slavery from Kansas and Nebraska, was it not a cause in 1789, when Slavery was excluded from the Territory now covered by the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan? Why, I ask again, in 1820, when Mr. Monroe was President of the United States, was not the Union dissolved immediately and eternally? Slavery was then by act of Congress excluded from the free Territory from which we now wish to exclude it. If this be a reason for dissolving the Union now, was it not a reason for dissolution then? How did Mr. Monroe, from the State of Virginia, himself approve a bill excluding it from that Territory? Why, sir, it is manifest that the public sentiment of this country has very much changed, if this is a cause for dissolution of the Union now. In former times, these acts of Congress excluding Slavery from the Northwest and from the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were deemed judicious and proper acts of legislation, voted for by the South, and carried by Southern votes. Now we are told that the same legislation is cause for a dissolution of the Union. This shows how the Constitution, which our fathers made, and understood, and have put into operation, is proposed to be changed and subverted in these modern times. Sir, it was no cause for a dissolution of the Union in 1789; it was none in 1820; it is none to-day, and, in my judgment, it would lead to no such consequences.

But it is said that four of the Northern States united to keep out of power this party, and among them the State of Illinois is named. Sir, the State of Illinois endorses no such sentiments as those avowed by the Senator from Virginia. You could not get the friends of Mr Buchanan in Illinois to discuss the question of the expansion of Slavery. They said that Kansas would be a free State; that it was a libel on them, when we charge that the effect, the purpose, the object, of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was to open Kansas to Slavery. They said, "Slavery will not go there; Kansas will be a free State;" and they discussed other questions, and were very far from discussing this question of the expansion of Slavery. The great party which it is said has triumphed, was not willing to put itself on that issue; but we find it at Cincinnati overturning and casting aside all the veterans who had done service in the Kansas-Nebraska fight, and taking up another gentleman, simply because he had not been mixed up with it—a gentleman who had been abroad, who had nothing to do with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the opening of Kansas to Slavery. He was nominated for that reason; and it is as apparent as the noonday sun, that if he had been identified with that measure, he could not have been elected. Take the State of Illinois, which Mr. Buchanan has carried, but not by a majority vote; he is in a minority in that State of nearly thirty thousand. Thirty-seven thousand votes were cast in that State for Mr. Fillmore. The speakers in his favor denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, denounced the extension of Slavery into Kansas, as openly, as strongly, and as boldly, as did any supporter of Colonel Fremont; but they insisted that Mr. Fillmore was the better man for the Presidency. They cast their votes for him under that impression.

But how was it when a man was brought up, identified with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the opening of Kansas to Slavery? How was it when Colonel Richardson came before the people of Illinois as the nominee of the Buchanan party for Governor—a man who had taken an active part in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—and there came up in opposition to him a gentleman who was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill? The respective conventions which nominated these gentlemen passed resolutions on this subject. The one nominating Colonel Richardson endorsed the Nebraska bill; the other nominating Colonel Bissell denounced and condemned it. Who is elected? Colonel Bissell triumphantly, and the whole Republican State ticket; and that, too, notwithstanding the fact that there was a Fillmore ticket voted for.

Do you claim Illinois as endorsing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and sustaining the administration of Franklin Pierce? If he had been the candidate, or any man identified with him in his policy, he would have been beaten as badly as was the man in the instance where there were but two persons in Illinois running for a State office, that of State Treasurer. It so happened that we had but two candidates for that office. One was Mr. Moore, "honest John Moore," as he has been called, the old Treasurer, a popular man, and deservedly so, but identified with the party which approved the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Against him, the Republican candidate was Mr. Miller, who was elected by more than twenty-one thousand majority. Here, where there were but two candidates running, you see what was the public sentiment of that State on this issue. Although its electoral vote is cast for Mr. Buchanan, it is cast by a large minority of the voters of the State. So it is on the Congressional ticket; a majority of thousands is given for the Republican candidates. I protest that the State of Illinois never has endorsed and never will endorse the spread of Slavery over free Territories. The only difficulty which we had was in getting the people to decide upon that issue. The trouble was, that we could not bring up the opposite party to the advocacy of those doctrines which are proclaimed here in the Senate. If we had been able to do so, and could we have had the benefit in the State of Illinois, during the canvass, of the speech which the Senator from Virginia has delivered here to-day, I think that even the electoral vote of Illinois (though so cast now by a minority of its voters) would not have been cast for Mr. Buchanan.

I shall take another time, when I have had a further opportunity to examine this message of the President, to comment further upon it. On the present occasion I will not longer detain the Senate. My object in rising was chiefly to protest against "the baseless assumptions" in this message, and the (as I think) unwarranted assumptions made by Senators here, when they undertake to attribute to the great Republican party, which sustained Colonel Fremont, any hostility to the rights of any of the States of this Union, or to the institution of Slavery in any of the States.

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

We cannot attempt to print *verbatim* the reports of the Debate on the President's Message, going on in both Houses. The whole subject of Slavery is re-opened, just as if it had never been discussed before. The President resumed it in his message; the Republicans, being arraigned, reply; and forthwith, the President's supporters rush to the rescue; and so the Question wakes no more to sleep.

We continue to make up our reports from several sources, from time to time presenting parts of the Debate in full. The speeches of Messrs. Trumbull and Mason, in this week's *Era*, will be read with interest.

December 10th, in the Senate, Mr. Collamer delivered an able speech, of which the *Intelligencer* presents an excellent synopsis.

Mr. C. commenced by deprecating the latitudinarian range of Senatorial debate, essaying, as it so often does, rather to "manufacture" public opinion, than to be its exponent and representative. Since, however, this style of political discussion had been ratified by long usage, he supposed it would seem nothing better than affectation to avoid all participation in it. The consideration of the President's message could hardly be said to rise to the dignity of a *question,* but that message certainly did present a *subject* of present and vital importance. He would not undertake particularly to criticise the propriety of that message, whether considered in point of style or the occasion of its promulgation. With single reference to its author, it might perhaps be justly regarded as a mere ebullition of disappointed ambition; but as an official State paper, proceeding from the Chief Magistrate of the nation, it might be deemed worthy of examination and refutation.

The charges made by the President, and to which Mr. Collamer took special exception, were, firstly, that a portion of the American people had constituted themselves into a political organization for the purpose of interfering with Slavery in the States; secondly, that this party had sought "to *usurp* the control of the Government;" and, thirdly, that a portion of the States, by a propagandist colonization, had provoked retaliatory measures on the part of the South, in defence of their domestic institutions. Each and all of these charges Mr. C. repelled, as being destitute of foundation in fact.

Much has been said by the President and his friends, continued the Senator, respecting the issues which have been decided by the late election. For his part, he could not clearly discern that anything had been decided in favor of the Democracy, except the election of their candidates; for, if those who voted for Mr. Fremont and Mr. Fillmore may be presumed alike hostile (if not equally on some points) to the principles of the Democratic party, then it could be made to appear that the principles of that party have been repudiated by a majority of the country.

Mr. Collamer next proceeded to vindicate the principles of the Republican party, which he maintained were not only as old as the formation of the Constitution, but coeval with the very settlement of the New World by the Pilgrim Fathers, who had sought to found a commonwealth without either a hierarchy or an oligarchy. These principles gave birth to American Independence, and were, in the Revolutionary era, espoused equally by the Puritans of New England, the Dutch colonists of New York, the followers of Penn and of Lord Baltimore, the Cavaliers of Virginia, the Presbyterians of Mecklenburgh, and the Huguenots of South Carolina.

These principles presided over the formation of our present Constitution, the framers of which were opposed to the extension of Slavery, as was proved by the Congressional enactment under the Constitution of the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting Slavery in the Northwestern Territory ceded by Virginia. What was done by the fathers with reference to that cession, it was equally competent for Congress to do with reference to the Louisiana purchase, since the right of sovereignty of the United States was equally ample and explicit with respect to each. Mr. C. quoted from the grants in each case, to prove the truth of this assertion. If, then, it was constitutional to prohibit Slavery under the Virginia grant, why not equally so under the terms of the treaty with France, conveying as it did the Louisiana Territory "*forever and in full sovereignty to the United States?*"

This principle of the Republican party, which prompted their opposition to the extension of Slavery, had been ratified by the uniform course of Congressional legislation with respect to the Territories, until within the last decade of our political history. It was confirmed by Congress in 1788 by re-enacting the Ordinance of 1787. It was confirmed in the Territorial organization of Tennessee and of Mississippi, Congress in each case exercising "a right of control" over the introduction of Slavery into those Territories. It was confirmed in 1800 by the legislation of Congress with respect to Indiana, in 1803 with respect to Louisiana in the organization of Orleans Territory, in 1805 with respect to Illinois, and so likewise with regard to Missouri, (by the prohibition of Slavery north of 36° 30′,) Wisconsin, Iowa, Oregon, &c. Such uniformity of procedure would seem to settle the question respecting the *power* of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories.

Mr. Collamer then proceeded to argue the motives which had prompted the fathers to check the extension of Slavery, which he mainly found in the incompatibility of that institution with the general diffusion of intelligence and promotion of industry and enterprise among the people. He admitted that Slavery tended to produce a favored class, remarkable for all the qualities engendered by the gifts of hereditary fortune; but what, he asked, is its general effect on the great mass of the free white population? That this latter was eloquent in the condemnation of Slavery, he verily believed, but preferred to cite the authority of slaveholders in confirmation of this view. The speaker then read quotations on this point from the writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, George Mason of Virginia, Gov. McDowell, Hon. C. J. Faulkner, Jefferson Randolph, Governor Hammond of South Carolina, and others.

To the President's charge, that the people of the North had indulged in a series of aggressions on the South, the speaker replied by reversing the terms of the statement, and cited, among the aggressions of the South, the annexation of Texas, by a procedure of questionable constitutionality, but avowedly to perpetuate and protect the institution of Slavery. The next aggression was the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, which he regarded as a violation of high political morality.

The speaker then commented on the political concessions exacted by Slavery from Presidential aspirants, as seen in repeated Presidential elections. These aggressions and this political compliance of the Democracy with all the demands of Slavery had begotten the Republican party, and it would last as long as the evils lasted which it sought to cure.

The speaker concluded by criticising certain popular catch-words of Democratic politicians, such as "popular sovereignty," "equality of the States," &c.; and, in allusion to the frequent threats of the South to dissolve the Union, (which he thought had nearly ceased to alarm the North,) he drew an imaginary "Declaration of Independence," to be uttered by the South as their manifesto to the civilized world.

In the House of Representatives, upon the motion to refer the President's Annual Message, Mr. Smith, of Tennessee, spoke an hour in reply to Messrs. Campbell and Sherman, of Ohio, embracing topics involved in the late political canvass. The question upon the admission of Mr. Whitfield as Delegate from Kansas was further considered, and resulted in allowing the claimant to take the oath of office. This was done by a vote of 112 to 108. Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, with commendable promptitude, reported, from the Committee of Ways and Means, two of the annual appropriation bills: one for the support of the Military Academy, and one for the payment of invalid and other pensions. The Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances was laid before the House, and twenty thousand copies ordered to be printed. Communications were also received from the State Department, transmitting information from the Statistical Bureau and estimates for certain expenses of the Department.

The vote on the admission of Whitfield was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Akers, Allen, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Miss., Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Broom, Burnett, Cadwalader, Campbell of Kentucky, Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Alabama, Cox, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Davis of Maryland, Davis of Illinois, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliot, English, Etheridge, Eustis, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Fuller of Maine, Garnett, Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Maryland, Harris of Alabama, Harris of Illinois, Harrison, Herbert, Hickman, Hoffman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, Jones of Pennsylvania, Keitt, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky, H. Marshall of Kentucky, Marshall of Illinois, Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Moore, Morrison, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Packer, Paine, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Smith of Alabama, Sneed, Stephens, Swope, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Tyson, Underwood, Vail, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wells, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Tennessee, and Zollicoffer—112.

NAYS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of New York, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell of Penn., Campbell of Ohio, Chaffee, Clarke of New York, Clark of Connecticut, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Massachusetts, Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Haven, Hodges, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Mace, Matteson, McCarty, Miller of New York, Millward, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Norton, Oliver of New York, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Ritchie, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Welch, Woodruff, and Woodworth—108.

SENATE.

Wednesday, December 10, 1856.

Mr. Mason presented a memorial from John H. Wheeler, late Minister to Nicaragua, asking to be reimbursed for moneys advanced for the relief of American citizens in distress in that country.

Mr. Seward presented a memorial from citizens of the District of Columbia, asking that provision may be made for an examination of the obstructions to the navigation of the Potomac river within that District, and the reporting of a plan for the removal thereof.

Mr. Crittenden presented a memorial from the same, also making a like prayer.

Mr. Clay introduced a bill supplementary to the act entitled "An act to graduate and reduce the price of the public land to actual settlers and cultivators," approved, August 4, 1854; which was read a second time by its title, and referred.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the resolution relating to the printing of an extra number of the President's message, with the accompanying documents.

Mr. Pugh remarked, while he should have considered the election of Colonel Fremont to the Presidency as the greatest calamity which could have befallen the American people, he had no reproaches to cast upon those honest and patriotic, but, as he believed, misguided citizens who voted for him. Nor had the President done so, as had been charged by opposition Senators. The paragraphs in the message upon which his colleague [Mr. Wade] and others had founded their accusation, could not apply to members of the Republican party, if it were true, as had been repeatedly asserted on the floor of the Senate, that they did not aim at any legislation by Congress on the subject of Slavery within the States. The rebuke was directed by the President against those who hold that doctrine.

It related to men whom the Senator from Maine [Mr. Fessenden] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Wilson] had themselves denounced in the Senate. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Hale] had gone so far as to say that he had never seen a man holding such views. With what propriety, then, could they accuse the President of applying his remarks to their party, when, according to their own statements, they do not belong to the class of people of whom the President was speaking? The President, however, did speak of another class of his fellow-citizens, of the class to which these gentlemen say they belong. He had not applied libellous language to them. He considered them honest and patriotic at heart, but thought that they had suffered themselves to be misguided by the artifices of partisan leaders. But objections had been made by the Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward,] that the discussion of such topics in the President's message was unprecedented.

Mr. Pugh thought that the Senator seemed to be as little acquainted with the language of Washington as he was imbued with his spirit. Much stress had been laid on the assertion that the election of Mr. Buchanan was not to be regarded as an endorsement by the people of the country of the principles and policy of the present Administration. This was a most remarkable statement, in view of the fact that the leaders of the Republican party had declared, in all imaginable forms, during the recent campaign, that the election of Mr. Buchanan would be a continuation of the policy of this Administration. What they then asserted with all possible emphasis, they now deny in terms equally strong. It was in early times a favorite maxim with the Democratic party, that their President should be elected for a single term, and that rule has only been violated on special occasions, as in the case of General Jackson.

Mr. Pugh further replied to the arguments of the opposition Senators.

Mr. Wilson remarked that he desired to speak on this subject, but yielded the floor to Mr. Cass, the latter saying that he proposed to allude to a few points which had been raised in course of the discussion, and would take occasion to do so to-morrow.

The Senate then adjourned.

HOUSE.

The House resumed the consideration of the President's annual Message, the question being on the motion that it be referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and that the Committee on Printing be instructed to inquire into the expediency of printing ten thousand extra copies thereof, with the accompanying documents.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, remarked that it was perfectly apparent that the President, in his sweeping charges, referred to the Republican party, alleging that, "while pretending to seek only to prevent the spread of the institution of Slavery into the present or future inchoate States of the Union," they were "really inflamed with a desire to change the domestic institutions of the existing States." Not only were the charges untrue, that the Republican party sought a revolutionary object, and that their desire was to subvert the Government, but the negative proposition was susceptible of the strongest proof. It was by the Cincinnati Platform that the principles and purposes of the Democratic party were judged; and the Republican party claimed that they had the right to be judged by the solemn declaration of their principles, made by a Convention representing some twenty States, embracing as much of the intelligence, property, and integrity of the Union, as had ever been represented in any assemblage convened in this land. Instead of entertaining the purposes ascribed to them by the President, the Republican party had expressly declared that "the Union of the States must and shall be preserved." That party had never acted with a view to the emancipation of the slaves in the South, their great object being to prevent the extension of Slavery into territory now free.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, inquired if the gentleman from Maine would, by his vote, admit a new State into the Union, with the liberty of forming its own institutions, according to the pleasure of the people thus applying?

Mr. Washburn replied, that when that question should be presented, he would be prepared to act upon it, and would not shirk the issue. His vote would depend upon circumstances; but it should be in accordance with the principles of the Republican party. He would ask the gentleman from Virginia whether, if Utah presented herself with a Constitution recognising polygamy, he would vote for her admission?

Mr. Smith. When the gentleman replies to the question I put to him, I will reply to the inquiry he has propounded to me. He is playing the Yankee upon me completely. [Laughter.] I put my question again to the gentleman.

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, remarked that there was something ominous and gloomy in the aspect of affairs. The House parted last summer in the midst of a contest upon the Slavery question, and now, after the Presidential election, while they were counting the regiments that had been swept down and the banners which had fallen in the fight, this discussion had again been sprung upon both Houses of Congress by members of the Republican party. Gentlemen on the other side had said, that but for the action of the Democratic side of the Chamber and the President's message, there would have been no discussion; but did they not, on the first day of the session, re-open it by objecting to the admission of the Delegate from Kansas, who, with the seal of the Governor of the Territory upon his credentials, appeared for the purpose of taking his seat?

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, after some preliminary remarks on the general subject of Slavery, discussed that portion of the message referring to the issues involved in the late election. He charged the President with unequivocal misrepresentation, though he would not say that it was intentional. So far as he was concerned, he had never presented a petition, bill, motion, or paper, nor had he ever delivered a speech in the House, touching the emancipation of the slaves in the Southern States. To the extent of his knowledge and belief, no proposition of such a nature had ever been made on the floor of the House.

Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, thanked the President for the boldness, independence, and straightforwardness, that characterized his message.

Mr. Norton, of Illinois, here asked his colleague if at one time he did not condemn the repeal of the Missouri Compromise?

Mr. Morrison. I did disapprove of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and assailed the Democrats for voting for its abrogation; and, to make a clean breast of it, I will say that I have assailed every prominent Democrat of this Union within the last fifteen years. [Laughter.] If the gentleman asks me whether I approve the principles of the Nebraska bill, which involved the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, I answer my colleague emphatically that I do.

Mr. Norton desired further to ask his colleague if he was not elected to the Senate of the State of Illinois as an Anti-Nebraska man; in other words, upon the same principles upon which Judge Trumbull was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the United States?

Mr. Morrison. Two years ago, I was elected to the Senate of the State of Illinois, at which time Judge Trumbull was elected a member of this House. I did all I could to secure the election of Judge Trumbull, and I was a very strong Anti-Nebraska man. But I saw that Anti-Nebraska would lead me into the ranks of abolitionism, and I desired to be a living example, that one man at least who "took the first false step, did not to hell's perdition go." [Great laughter.] Although I supported Judge Trumbull as a Representative, I refused to support him for the Senate. I went back to my district, united myself to the Democratic party, I fought its battle, and came to do the glorious "deed that gilds my humble name." [Laughter.]

Mr. Norton desired to know at what precise time his colleague became a convert to the Democratic party and the principles of the Nebraska bill, and caused to be read certain resolutions which had been submitted to the Senate of Illinois, to the effect that that body emphatically disapproved the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in Congress to use their endeavors to obtain a restoration of the restriction of Slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Mr. N. wished to know if his colleague did not offer these resolutions whilst he was a member of the Senate of Illinois?

Mr. Morrison. I did offer those resolutions. My colleague wants to know when I became a member of the Democratic party. I became a member of that party when faction, fanaticism, and intolerance, were sweeping the Northern States with the besom of destruction, and in the hour of its greatest need; when the Democratic party were breasting the waves of the angry Tiber, and calling upon all national men to "help me, Cassius, or I sink." [Great laughter.] Then I came to the support of the Democratic party, and did not come alone.

Mr. Norton inquired if his colleague believed the sentiments of the resolutions just read sectional or national?

Mr. Morrison. I believe that it was a very good stroke of the Whig party to embarrass and beat the Democracy, [laughter;] but at the time I offered those resolutions, the Republican party had not been born; it is a later production. When I saw the banner I had followed in many a good fight furled and shrouded in mourning upon the grave of the immortal Clay, I found rising upon the ruins of the Whig party a political association sectional in its organization and in its principles, and destructive of the fairest fabric of human wisdom the world has ever seen.

Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky, then obtained the floor, when, at half-past three o'clock, the House adjourned.

SENATE.

Thursday, December 11, 1856.

Mr. Bell, of New Hampshire, appeared in his seat this morning.

On motion, it was ordered, that when the Senate adjourn, it be to Monday next.

On motion by Mr. Houston,

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire into the expediency of suspending the duties upon sugar and molasses for the period of two years.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution relating to the printing of an extra number of the President's message, with the accompanying documents.

Mr. Cass, who was entitled to the floor, rose and addressed the Senate at length.

Mr. Hale obtained the floor; when

Mr. Rusk felt it his duty to state that the printers to Congress were delayed in their business, from the want of the passage of the order to print, and he would ask that, by general consent, the question be taken on that order, and thus allow the debate to proceed.

This was agreed to, and the order to print 15,000 copies of the message and accompanying documents was made.

Mr. Hale then addressed the Senate at considerable length in reply to Mr. Cass and others who had preceded on the same side, replying with much wit and good humor to interrogatories put to him by Messrs. Pugh, Bigler, and others.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, obtained the floor, when the Senate, at a late hour, adjourned.

HOUSE.

The House resumed the consideration of the President's annual message.

Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky, remarked that he understood the position of the Republican and Abolition parties, but did not understand that occupied by the Democratic party. He did not believe that there was upon the Democratic side of the House a single gentleman who could rise in his place, and, in the face of the country, announce an opinion upon the subject of the right of the people of a Territory to govern themselves, that would command the acquiescence of that party North and South. Yesterday, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Keitt] made a most eloquent speech against it; yet the gentleman from Michigan and the gentleman from South Carolina were both National Democrats!

Mr. Keitt. The genteman says I am a National Democrat. It is a word I discard.

Mr. Marshall. It only shows that some of the brightest lights of the Democratic party are sectional.

Mr. Keitt. That is the inference of the gentleman from Kentucky. I say that I am a supporter of the Constitution; and if that instrument happens to be confined to one section by the action and principles of another section, it is not my business.

Mr. Marshall. I stand corrected by my friend from South Carolina, and will give him the benefit of his own declaration, that he is a constitutional Democrat. But if he is a constitutional Democrat in the opinions he professes, I should like to know whether the gentleman considers the distinguished Senator to whom I have alluded—the father of the popular sovereignty doctrine—as an unconstitutional Democrat? [Laughter.]

Mr. Keitt understood that neither the Congress of the United States nor a Territorial Legislature had the right to prohibit Slavery in a Territory.

Mr. Marshall replied, that the answer was just such a one as had been given for the past four years. If the Democratic party went before the people of the North with the declaration in their mouths that they were better Free-Soilers than the Republicans themselves, and before the people of the South with the assertion that they were opposed to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, he only desired that this fact should be made manifest to the country.

Mr. Smith, of Tennessee, desired the gentleman to point to an instance where any portion of the Democratic party had claimed to be better Free-Soilers than the Republicans.

Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, with the consent of the gentleman from Kentucky, read several extracts from the *Montrose Democrat,* to the effect, "If there are any miserable doughfaces in the American Congress, Mr. Grow is one of them;" that "Mr. Grow voted to plant Slavery in free territory; the Democracy repudiate him for the act," &c.

Mr. Marshall then read from speeches of Senators Trumbull and Fessenden, to prove that in the North the Democracy claimed to be as much opposed to Slavery extension as the Republican party.

Mr. Marshall said that the issue in the late election was the doctrine of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He desired to know of Southern Democrats if Senator Mason announced the philosophy upon which they had triumphed, when he declared that the principle of the Nebraska act was, "that the people of a Territory, when they organize themselves, or are organized under law into a legislative body, have the right to determine for themselves whether the institution of Slavery should exist among them or not, while a Territory?"

Mr. Quitman, of Mississippi, dissented from Mr. Mason, not believing that the people of a Territory possessed sovereignty of any kind, until that sovereignty was delegated by the States through Congress, under the power delegated to Congress to admit new States into the Union.

Mr. McMullin, of Virginia, was understood to say that the speech of Mr. Mason, as reported, was not correct. He would tell the gentleman from Kentucky, that every member from the State of Virginia repudiated the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, as promulgated in that speech.

Mr. Marshall replied, that he happened to be present when the speech was delivered, and that it was spoken substantially as written, and with a precision that left no doubt upon his mind that the gentleman who spoke it understood and was expressing his own sentiments.

Mr. McMullin informed the gentleman from Kentucky that he had called upon the Senator from Virginia since he had made the speech in question, and that that gentleman denied and repudiated the doctrine of squatter sovereignty.

Mr. Orr said he was one of those who did not believe in the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and he did not believe that the Kansas-Nebraska bill tolerated that doctrine within the limits of those Territories. The reasoning by which he arrived at this result was, that there was no authority in the Constitution of the United States which authorized Congress to pass the Wilmot proviso, or to put any other restriction upon the Territories; and, Congress not having this power, he did not see how it could invest the creature with greater power than was possessed by itself.

Mr. Letcher, of Virginia, in reply to Messrs. Sherman and Giddings of Ohio, denied that the Democratic party was responsible for the Slavery agitation.

The House adjourned.

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